

ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

IMAGES OF THE US DURING THE COLD WAR: MEDIA DISCOURSE IN THE UK
1956-1986

TUNDE FORMADI

A thesis in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of Anglia Ruskin University
for the degree of MPhil

Submitted: December 2012

Acknowledgements

This is to thank all those who provided support throughout, especially my supervisors Professor Guido Rings and Dr Jonathan Davis.

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS, LAW AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

IMAGES OF THE US DURING THE COLD WAR: MEDIA DISCOURSE IN THE UK

1956-1986

TUNDE FORMADI

December 2012

This thesis explores how the local media in East Anglia portrayed the US military presence during the Cold War at times of international crisis. It aims to assess this portrayal in comparison with national media images and critically interrogates the socio-political, economic and cultural reasons for it. This media related study contributes to Cold War historiography and the historiography of the USAF.

Research was mainly archival, based on discourse analysis and comparative focusing on the official discourse of the Cold War and the news media. Central to the research were the written records of the British government and articles in appropriate newspapers issued near American airbases. The region of East Anglia was selected for its strategic location and large number of military bases, and data collection focused on selected periods of international crisis due to their impact on media coverage.

The examination of newspaper articles identified a wide range of images with some recurring from time to time while others remain specific to certain periods. Findings suggest that local economic as well as political interests played a role in shaping the images of the US presence in the local media, and it could be argued that there is a correlation between the conservative landscape of the region and the newspaper articles' overwhelming tolerance or at least acceptance of the US presence, which is in line with conservative governmental discourse in all periods of crisis explored. However, the articles – and in particular the readers' letters to the editors – also highlight that there were strong debates between supporters and opponents of the American presence, and this debate blurs the boundaries of political parties, i.e. in certain periods there are also strong opponents in the conservative camp.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Appendices.....	v
Copyright.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: The context of the research.....	3
1.1. Preliminary remarks.....	3
1.2. Anglo-American relations during the Cold War.....	3
1.3. The American airbases in Britain.....	7
1.4. US propaganda efforts in the United Kingdom.....	11
Chapter 2: Methodology.....	13
2.1. Use of sources.....	13
2.2. Media discourse.....	15
2.3. The regions to be studied.....	18
2.4. The periods to be studied.....	21
2.4.1. The Suez crisis 26 July – 15 November 1956.....	21
2.4.2. The Cuban missile crisis 22-29 October 1962.....	23
2.4.3. The October war 6 – 26 October 1973	24
2.4.4. The Afghanistan war December 1979 – August 1980	25
2.4.5. The American bombing of Libya 25 March – 5 April 1986.....	26
2.5. Conclusion.....	26
Chapter 3: About the British media.....	28
3.1. Introduction.....	28
3.2. British media and its characteristics.....	28
3.2.1. Scale.....	28
3.2.2. Ownership.....	29
3.2.3. Media control.....	29
3.3. The political colours of local newspapers and parliamentary representation within East Anglia.....	31
3.4. Conclusion.....	35
Chapter 4: Depiction of the US in East Anglia 1956 – 1986.....	36
4.1. Introduction.....	36

4.2. The US presence – between nuisance and threat.....	42
4.2.1. The national threat.....	42
4.2.2. The dangerous driver as local threat.....	64
4.2.3. The nuisance American.....	68
4.3. The American ‘friend’.....	73
4.3.1. Advantages of the American friend.....	74
4.3.2. The friendly American.....	78
4.3.3. The successful socialiser.....	81
4.3.4. The charitable friend.....	83
4.4. Neither friend, nor enemy.....	86
4.4.1. The excluded Other.....	86
4.4.2. The superior American.....	88
4.4.3. The popular Other and the British establishment.....	92
4.4.4. American buying power.....	95
4.5. Conclusion.....	99
Conclusion.....	105
Bibliography.....	108
Appendices.....	114

List of Appendices

Appendix 1.....	57
Appendix 2.....	66
Appendix 3.....	66
Appendix 4.....	96

1956-1986

Tunde Formadi

COPYRIGHT

Attention is drawn to the fact that copyright of this thesis rests with

- (i) Anglia Ruskin University for one year and thereafter with
- (ii) Tunde Formadi

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is bound by copyright.

This work may:

- (i) be made available for consultation within Anglia Ruskin University Library, or
- (ii) be lent to other libraries for the purpose of consultation or may be photocopied for such purposes.

Introduction

The background to this study is a socio-political environment governed by the mutual suspicion and hostility of the Cold War in which both the Soviet Union and the USA sought to defend themselves against each other by building up alliances as well as to contain each other by creating a series of military bases. In this context, Britain was regarded as vital to western defences. While the American presence provided excellent opportunities for cultural exchange between the two nations, and the press and news media indicate numerous examples of fruitful encounters, US military activity also caused anxiety amongst the British population, and in particular regional news media reflects such concerns of the local people:

Including present bases, the county has had 29 airfields since the turn of the century. Today the region remains vital to western defences and is home to American and British forces. Thousands of Americans are made welcome by locals – a friendship exemplified by President Richard Nixon’s meeting with PM Harold Wilson 19 years ago at RAF Mildenhall. However, like all relationships, there have been strains. Plans to store American Cruise missiles at RAF Molesworth, and President Reagan’s revenge airstrike on Libya from USAF base RAF Mildenhall sparked protest.

(Looking Back - Cambridge News 1888-1988, 15 April 1986, p.13)

The aim of this thesis is to examine how the American presence, both actual and abstract, was mirrored in the British local press during international crises. The Cold War, even two decades after its end, remains a crucial period not only in the political and economic history of modern times but also for its enormous impact upon everyday life.

The research questions are as follows:

How was the American presence, both actual and abstract, mirrored in the British local press at times of crisis and its subsequent implications?

1. How does the combination of language with other semiotic forms produce meaning for the representations of America, Americans and American events, issues and relationships in the news media?

2. How do the local newspapers use their power and ideological orientation to influence the readers?
3. How do the news media deal with presuppositions, perceptions and misperceptions of events and issues pertinent to the Cold War period in the UK?

I approached the relationship between political and media discourse by focusing on the Eastern region where the presence of American soldiers, troop movements and military aircraft flying over the region were constant reminders for the locals of the actual US military presence. Examining texts, such as newspaper articles, editorials, debates, and even advertisements, enabled the research to explore how the participants perceived each other and to investigate the public debate that ensued. This consisted of two stages. First, I reviewed the existing literature. Using chronological sampling, I collected material from appropriate papers using local archives and the British Library Newspaper collection. The research sampled material between 1956 and 1986. In the second stage I interpreted the collected material and further developed the analytical framework.

Following the general outline of the thesis in this introduction, chapter 1 examines the socio-political environment, Anglo-American relations, the American airbases, cultural infiltrations and US propaganda efforts in Britain within the Cold War period. Chapter 2 details the methodology used for this specific research, as well as the regions and periods of study. Chapter 3 explores the characteristics, potentials and limits of the British media. Chapter 4 is the main part of this study and discusses media representations of the US presence in the UK during the selected international crisis.

Through its examination of this neglected research area, my study contributes to a closer understanding of how the American presence, both actual and abstract, was mirrored in the British media and its subsequent implications. This topic builds on a research interest that I have developed during my previous studies at Anglia Ruskin, my involvement in a research project entitled 'The Discourse of the Cold War in the Anglia Region' at Anglia Ruskin Centre for Regional Studies and also on my personal background.

Chapter 1

The context of the research

Preliminary remarks

In order to examine how the US was depicted in the British media at critical periods during the Cold War between 1956 and 1986, this chapter explores the context in which British policy and attitudes towards the US were developed.

The presence of the American military force has had both short and long-term advantages and disadvantages. Although the US had never tried to impose its rule onto Britain in the way Russia did in Hungary and other Eastern European countries, it still had a deep impact on Britain. Some of the British saw the military presence as a threat to their security while others found it essential and felt protected. What makes the situation interesting is that the system, a voluntary military presence, as a permanent peacetime arrangement, is truly unprecedented (Duke, 1987:2). Moreover, Britain is the only country amongst the countries hosting US bases that has apparently been satisfied with a ‘gentleman’s agreement’ that controls the huge American military presence. Never before have two major powers entered into such agreement during peacetime and not stipulated more precise terms, especially regarding the length of stay (ibid).

This section outlines these particular developments and themes of relevance, and sets the background for more thorough examination of issues deriving from the Anglo-American relationship in the following chapters.

1.1. Anglo-American relations during the Cold War

The United States became a superpower during the Second World War, with the word ‘superpower’ being invented in 1944 (Reynolds, 1995:438), and there were many aspects of the American way of life that attracted admiration particularly among young British people. These included a plural constitution and certain laws that supported personal liberty and rights. The US had also become militarily far more powerful than any other Western country and, with regard to the Soviet threat, most British people put their

trust in the US. But was the American presence really providing security for the British people, or was Britain just a friendly, unquestioning and geographically convenient launching point for the protection of America's military power (Bowyer 1979, Campbell 1984).

Duncan Campbell believes that the British have often deluded themselves about the special relationship they believe they enjoy, while the Americans have rather been ambivalent. There is the suggestion that the British feel it is special because it is based on a common language, democracy and capitalism (Campbell, 1984:91). Like Campbell, David Reynolds also believes that it was much more a British idea than American and it was to differentiate English-speaking people from the rest of Europe (1995:439). The phrase 'special relationship' was actually first used by Winston Churchill at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, on 5 March 1946 (Duke, 1987:1). Although the phrase describes the individual character of Anglo-American relations, the main purpose of the relationship was international peace and stability, as Churchill outlined in his famous speech given at Fulton¹.

For Churchill, the development of the Anglo-American 'special relationship' was of crucial importance. His aim was to rebuild and maintain the role of Britain as a world power, and he wanted to build new ties with Europe without sacrificing the relationship with America. In particular, Churchill was proud that it was Britain out of all main European countries that emerged from the Second World War without shame or discredit. He therefore had no intention of joining the weak European states, and his vision was that the US and the UK together would safeguard the security as well as the democratic spirit of the world (Larres and Lane, 2001:73).

Campbell, among others, argues that the American presence just increased the risk of war to Britain and it was nothing else but a convenient and friendly geographical location for the projections of US military power (1984:12). The justification for retaining the American military bases lies in the policy of deterrence. However, the question of whether there was any British control over the US bases in the UK was debated throughout

¹ 'Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organisation, will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States....Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our [...] systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate relationship between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, [...]' (Duke, 1987:1).

the whole period². A statement in 1952 that refers to the most debated issue, the control over nuclear weapons, describes how special and equal the relationship has been between the two countries, which would be ‘a matter for joint decision in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the time’ (ibid:16). Campbell argues that for the US, Britain was the ideal forward base, an unsinkable aircraft carrier (ibid:29). Altogether it seems that Britain had fewer rights than any other NATO members and that its sovereignty could also be questioned. Successive governments allowed the imposition of a foreign legal code, did not confirm the length of their stay in any written agreement, and permitted to start a war from their territory without having the right of British veto and dual control of cruise missiles. France, for example, was able to pull out when the US was not prepared to agree to a genuine ‘joint decision over the use of nuclear weapons on French territory. It even left NATO and required the removal of all US bases and facilities, most of which ended up in Britain. As Campbell (1984) phrased it, there had been a de facto policy of ‘open house’ since the US Air Force returned to Britain in 1948. It appeared as though the Americans were able to achieve anything they wanted and the British let them do everything on the basis of the ‘special relationship’.

However, Reynolds (1995) points out that, although it was in the interest of both states to cooperate as fully as possible, it was more important for the British to link themselves to the US. His view is that it was a deliberate and quite successful British creation, a ‘tradition invented as a tool of diplomacy’ (Baylis, 1997:11), in a period when Britain as a world power was not as strong as it used to be. In his comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the UK and the US, John Baylis argues that the UK’s imperial power largely declined between 1947 and the early 1960s together with its economic and military potency, and that this must have been a key factor for British politicians’ support of the special relationship.³

Certainly, Campbell’s and Baylis’s perspectives have to be considered not in isolation but in their interdependence. In this context, I would argue that both the UK and the US needed each other, which implies that both scholars are right to a certain degree.

² For further discussion of the use of airbases, see Young 2007

³ Former American secretary of state Dean Acheson (1962) put the fears of decline and isolation of the British into words saying that Great Britain has lost an empire, and has not yet found a role. The attempt to play a separate power role [...] apart from Europe [...] based on a ‘Special Relationship’ with the US [or] being head of a ‘Commonwealth’ which has no [...] unity or strength [...] this role is about played out. (in Tombs, 2007:624). Although John Young disagrees with this point by saying that this was pithy but inaccurate and that the leaders of both main parties were reluctant to agree with Acheason (Young, 1998:168).

Since the need for a close Anglo-American relationship was recognised, efforts were made by consecutive British governments to ensure that it remained strong. Of course there were times when strains appeared on the relationship due to differences in policies or attitudes but it clearly survived for many decades. In line with conservative policies, even many Labour politicians were, in most periods of crisis analysed in this study, eager to maintain the relationship between the two nations, which is not surprising as it was the Attlee government that tied Britain to the US after 1945.

Peter Jones argues that the lasting relationship is due to the fact that the participants can tolerate each other even at times of disagreement and believes that there is sufficient value in the relationship for it to continue (1997:11). Jones also believes that the informality of the relationship makes it easier to overcome differences (ibid). Former British Prime minister Margaret Thatcher summarises how special the relationship was even in 1988: ‘There is a union of mind and purpose between our peoples which is remarkable and which makes our relationship truly a remarkable one. It is special. It just is, and that’s that’ (ibid:10).

Having examined the factors that would make a relationship special between states, Jones notes that there is no need to find attributes to see why this relationship is so special; it is enough to see its durability throughout the decades. Moreover, the relationship was still considered special in the 1990s, having survived the Cold War. Former American President Bill Clinton (1995) concludes that

Today the United States and the United Kingdom glory in an extraordinary relationship that unites us in a way never before seen in the ties between two such great nations. The friendship that binds America to Great Britain is alone, unbroken, above all the rest a model for the ties that should bind all democracies.

(ibid:11)

Moving on to the 21st century, although David Cameron backed Barack Obama’s actions, the rhetoric of his party might not have been as strident as it was under previous leaders, such as Thatcher (Heppel and Seawright, 2012:127). Cameron described the relationship in 2006 as ‘solid, but not slavish’ (ibid:126). The Liberal Democrats in Cameron’s coalition government support the relationship because in reality, it would be political suicide for Britain or the Conservative Party to turn away from the US (ibid).

Clearly, there has been a debate going on about the existence of the special relationship and, particularly at times of international crisis, it has been questioned very

frequently. However, I believe that the relationship between Britain and the US has been special and, among other factors, this special relationship played an important role in trying to stabilise or even enhance the presence of the American forces in the UK.

The American airbases in Britain

Although most of the bases built by the US had been closed down after the Second World War, they were soon back in operation. Robert Jackson (1986) examines the reasons behind American thinking of choosing the UK for a continued airbase presence. Due to the situation in international politics after the Second World War when the Soviet Union had been identified as the main enemy of the Western democratic world, the US decided to set up military bases in locations worldwide under American control, and Britain had become one of them. Due to its close political identification with the US and its strategic location, it was given particular importance. The US viewed Britain as a valuable location from which to launch strategic air offensives against the Soviet Union (Duke, 1987). Other Western European countries were taken into consideration but political difficulties prevented the US from setting up bases in Italy and France, and Germany was too close to a hostile frontier. Although there were now no suitable bases in the UK, it was a safer option than Germany. The UK thus seemed to be a logical alternative to those countries. Also, because of their relationship and Britain's concern about the growing Soviet forces and the weak state of Europe both economically and militarily, it seemed to be an ideal solution for both the UK and the US. Another advantage of setting up bases in the UK was that it was able to provide the necessary infrastructure for the American forces abroad, such as communication and intelligence centres, command headquarters, storage for nuclear and conventional weapons and logistical support. Simon Duke (1987) explores the advantages and disadvantages of the US bases for Britain.

After the late 1950s it was the responsibility of the British forces to provide air defence for US bases as well as their own (Campbell, 1984:22), and this can be regarded as a very substantial task taking into account that the American bases, especially in East Anglia, were among the country's prime targets. The objectives of the US military forces were to play an important role in deterrence and to make a significant contribution to Europe's defence. Michael Bowyer (1979) argues for deterring a possible Soviet attack; on the other hand Campbell (1984) and Duke (1987) argue that the presence of the Americans in Britain provoked the Soviets and thus placed Britain in a disadvantageous position. The

question of whether the British had any right to control nuclear weapons remained a constant political issue regardless of subsequent governments.

The stationing of American air forces in Britain was officially formalized by the so-called Spaatz-Tedder Agreement in 1946, which was the first major breakthrough in the reintroduction of American forces in the UK after the Second World War. The British were concerned about the strength of the Soviet ground forces and the weak state of the air capability of Europe, which brought them to a conclusion that the placing of a very heavy bomber group in the UK would significantly improve the international security situation. These B-29 very heavy bombers were capable of reaching areas of great importance in the Soviet Union as well as able to protect Western Europe from the Eastern part of the UK. However, this agreement was made behind closed doors, and neither the press nor the government made any announcements about the reintroduction of US bombers to Britain, even if it was only in case of an emergency situation. It was also said that this agreement was only for a 'short period of temporary duty' (Duke, 1987:85).

As it turned out later, this secret administrative agreement was not taken seriously enough given the momentous issues involved in the establishment of US bases in Britain in peacetime. It was made clear that these forces were coming to Britain unofficially, under 'informal and longstanding arrangements between two air forces for visits of goodwill and training purposes' (Jackson, 1986:29). To the British, the move seemed a reasonable temporary gesture at that time of crisis. Thus, the American bombers arrived in Britain in July 1948 for a temporary show of strength during the Berlin blockade.

However, according to the public records of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, the US had already planned this move much earlier. A September 1945 entry says that the US began planning for an atomic war against the Soviet Union a month after destroying Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. It also stated that in such a war British bases would play a key role. Furthermore, an entry in October 1945 says that the US planned to 'seize and hold' if need be, airfields in the UK and the Far East, from which it could mount atomic bomb raids against the Soviet Union (Campbell, 1984:27). Thus, it seems that the Berlin blockade came as an excellent opportunity for the US to move bombers to the UK indefinitely and not as a 'temporary mission of goodwill and training' or as a political response to Soviet activities in Berlin. The fact that the US had long term intentions right from the beginning was also proved by US Defence Secretary James Forrestal. He wrote in his diary on the day the bombers arrived in Britain that 'we have the opportunity now of

sending these planes, and once sent, they would become somewhat of an accepted fixture.’ (Campbell, 1984:29). However, officially it was said that the bombers would stay for just thirty days for ‘operational training’. Then the thirty-day stay was soon extended to sixty days, and then to ninety days. And when the first bombers left Britain they were soon replaced by other groups on ‘rotation’, a process which lasted for fifteen years (ibid). The temporary stationing of American forces had become permanent and accepted within two years as Secretary Forrestal predicted.

When he assumed office as Prime Minister again in 1951, Churchill obtained an American assurance that the atomic bombs would not be used from the bases in the UK without the consent of the British government. His concern was that the Soviets, in case the Americans decided to deploy even a small number of atomic weapons, would attack the UK first to eliminate the bases. It was the famous communiqué between Churchill and Truman, signed on 9 January 1952, which, despite the fact that it was not equivalent to a treaty, agreement or contract, was referred to for decades on any occasion when the matter was raised. It defines the question as ‘a matter for joint decision ... in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the time’. It is very carefully phrased because in a moment of crisis it is very unlikely that time would permit consultation. And the old arguments and concerns about decision making and control of nuclear weapons did not change with subsequent new governments.

The initially limited number of American military forces soon, within a space of three years, grew into a major overseas air force. Duke (1987) explores the impact of this development on the local population. What started off as a 30-day visit of a few groups to Britain developed into a substantial military force of over 40,000 people, occupying a large number of bases and facilities in the UK. While the Berlin crisis marked the beginning of a reliance on an American military presence in the UK, the Americans had taken the opportunity to introduce bombers into Britain during the first acute crisis of the Cold War. As a result, Britain became ‘America’s unsinkable aircraft carrier’ (Duke, 1987:85).

The growing foreign military presence provoked mixed reactions in Britain. The sudden increase in US personnel during the early 1950s was not always welcomed by the local people in the vicinity of the bases. This is why it was proposed, after the establishment of the first permanent American base in August 1948, that the bases should remain under the name of the Royal Air Force and with a RAF commander who was in reality a local liaison officer. The idea behind it was to alleviate local hostility towards the

American military presence. Also there was much care and effort invested by the US forces in order to have good local community relations. They did everything to avoid confrontation and lessen local hostilities. This is why US servicemen were issued with a small booklet called 'conduct code' before leaving for Britain. It explained how to behave overseas, warned them not to criticise the British or the Royal Family, and not to flash their money around (Duke, 1987:110). The servicemen could afford a much higher standard of living than the British. Because of this, they attracted a large number of female attentions of various types, which, in turn led to bitterness amongst the locals. A reappearing wartime saying summarized the situation with the American servicemen: 'over-paid, over-sexed and over here' (Campbell, 1984:40; Deer, 2004:166; Duke, 1987:110; Wilford, 2006:36). The situation was improved by the change in the length of stay of the American servicemen and the arrival of their families. However, the arrival of these caused a considerable logistical problem, such as housing, feeding and schooling of these extra people, which was again well reported in the local media.

Whenever the stationing of foreign military forces in peacetime Britain was questioned, the British government tried to prove that their presence contributed to the economy in general. It is true that there were some economic benefits of the American presence that could not be ignored, Duke (1987:118) argues. Local tradesmen such as contractors and builders benefited as the bases provided extra work for them, in general the British economy probably made profit from the huge expenditure of the US forces and their presence also provided opportunities for employment. Although it seems that the American presence was of financial benefit, Campbell (1984) argues that the US bases were a net financial burden to the British economy. If the Americans were here to contribute to the economy, then the British government should have been able to decide how many bases and facilities were established in Britain and make a profit from beer, petrol and sweets. The US did not pay rent for the bases and the British were handing out territory en bloc at no charge. The issue of the usefulness of the stationing of the Americans in the region was again frequently debated in the local press, as it will be seen.

Campbell (1984) and Jackson (1986) explore the legal issues relating to the stationing of the US servicemen in the UK. In each NATO territory the US sought extensive military rights. At the beginning the 1942 Visiting Forces Act stated that members of foreign visiting forces were immune from prosecution or the risk of civil proceedings in a receiving state. It could make the British court powerless even when

serious crimes were committed against British citizens and damages could not be claimed. Moreover, it could also compel British witnesses to attend US hearings (Campbell, 1984:301). The Visiting Forces Act in 1952 improved the situation considerably as it decreased the total immunity to only those cases when US personnel were performing official duties. It meant that servicemen were subject to British law more than at any time previously for off duty offences which were mainly traffic and disorder and even offences committed on duty were subject to US military law. One of the principal tasks of the liaison committees was to allow US commanders to demonstrate that offenders were punished. When the temporary stationing of American forces became permanent so did the Visiting Forces Act of 1952.

US propaganda efforts in the United Kingdom

Alexander Stephan, an expert on the subject of Americanization of Europe, believes that it was American popular culture that played the most influential role in winning over the hearts and minds of Europeans rather than the traditional way of public and cultural diplomacy. It was because the US maintained not only a continuous and wide-ranging military, political and economic commitment in Europe, but also a strong cultural presence. As Stephan argues, the dense network of military airbases and their cultural facilities were equally important in spreading the American influence (Stephan, 2006:2). As it will be seen from the examination of newspaper articles, the presence of the military bases played an important role in cultural exchange. For the local population the American airmen personified the American way of life. Furthermore, open days, fundraising and sports events all helped to obtain an insight into the American way of life.

The American way of life seemed to be popular. People were copying American fashion, viewing American movies, and eating and drinking American foods and beverages. The British were impressed by the wealth of Americans through the gifts they received from servicemen or the way they spoiled their British girlfriends, or the clever and modern American goods and devices available only from the black markets. This kind of material wealth also promoted cultural values. However, the British evaluation of American life varied sharply by age and class. Reynolds explores how material wealth fostered cultural values (1995:437). While Richard Weight believes that the British in general valued the 'special relationship', he also states that the American presence was one element in a conflict of generations and class as the older ones and those with more

education did like the 'special relationship' but disliked American mass culture (2002:243). He furthermore argues that younger people, less educated or working class Britons on the other hand did not like the 'special relationship' and were more likely to praise America's material and technological advantages (ibid:299). The younger generation's preference also contributed to the emergence of 'youth culture' (ibid). For those who loved American music and movies, the age of mass culture was a joy. American influence however was never as great as it was claimed. In whole areas of national life, such as sport, it had no influence at all. However, in the period when Britain was losing its economic and political power to the US, the British tried to protect national culture as the only way to halt the enfolding American supremacy.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Use of sources

The project integrates theories of discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995a, Fairclough 1995b, van Dijk 2006, Wodak 2001, Wodak 2008), social/cultural theory (Fairclough 1995a), and textual analysis (Fairclough 1995b, Wodak 2008), because interdisciplinary research is key to make the complex relations between media, people and politics more transparent (Wodak, 2001:64) (for discussion, see 2.2). All this is based on written records and uses archival research rather than oral history. Although oral history has expanded significantly during the last few decades and thus its importance and usefulness cannot be ignored (Charlton, Myers & Sharpless, 2006:1-91), it still would not have been a feasible methodology for this particular study, because of the extremely limited availability of interviewees for some key periods of this study, in particular for the Suez crisis, and the reliability of their accurate recollection of events, hence comparability of data throughout the period could not be guaranteed with oral history. Indeed, there is plenty of literature on the applicability and usefulness of oral history but also on concerns of oral historians with its shortcomings. Accuracy and issues of memory, especially how people remember and what shapes their memories have been the focus of oral historians' concerns (ibid:37). Clearly, the memories recalled from the periods of the research would not necessarily match the actual experience of the interviewees, and they carry personal and social biases.⁴ However, the major disadvantage is that it depends on living people as sources and their availability for interviews (Moyer, 1999:9). Since this study examines several stages spread over four decades, it would have been difficult to find a substantial and equal number of interviewees to enable data comparability across the period examined. Newspaper articles carry their own personal or social biases, but they are at least historical evidence of people's attitudes and interpretations at the time (ibid:10). Also, to achieve a methodological balance, newspaper articles will be examined against historical analysis as per secondary sources as well as the *Official report of parliamentary debates (Hansard)* of the period.

Primary sources are collected from appropriate papers that were issued near airbases using local archives and the British Library Newspaper collection. The availability of sources at the time of data collection was paper and microfilm format at five different archives spread out in the East Anglia region. While there were a lot of texts available

⁴ See Reynolds concern that people's memories of events decades ago could be controversial. As an example, he cites Tom Harrison, founder of the British survey group Mass Observations in the early 70s, who compared the old observer reports of the Blitz with the current memories of their authors. The discrepancies he says were substantial. One man, author of a vivid report on Coventry could not recall being in the city at all and this is a reminder of the fallibility of memory (Reynolds, 1995:446).

there were also substantial challenges with this type of manual data collection such as slow manual microfilm viewers, no printing facilities, or monitors that were too small to fit a whole page of newspaper. Despite these shortfalls, in total about seven hundred issues were consulted and over two hundred articles extracted for the purpose of this study. The following local newspapers have been consulted: the *Cambridge Independent News*, the *Bury Free Press*, *The Hunts Post*, the *Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury*, the *East Anglian Daily Times* and the *Cambridge News*, because they were by far the most popular local papers produced and disseminated in the vicinity of key airbases, and they call themselves independent papers (Willings Press Guide, The UK Press Directory), a very favourable self-categorisation which will have to be critically interrogated. At national level *The Guardian*, a liberal national paper, together with the centre-right *The Times* have been examined within the framework of key debates in the House of Commons in order to facilitate the exploration of political agendas in local newspapers. Also, the nature and characteristics of the newspapers and news writing practices have been considered.

In the newspaper analysis, I focus on different genres, such as articles, reports, readers' letters, editorials and advertisements, because they can all reflect social and economic relations as well as a sense of personal and group identity.⁵ Although media can tell a lot about social realities, articles and journalists do not only mirror realities; they can create that reality. Maya David and Hafriza Burhanudeen argue that the mass media can have the ability of 'hypnotic' control, through which it could expose helpless masses to political and economical pressures of all kinds: 'The power of the word, particularly the word spoken over and over again, can be devastating. It may be harmless harangue, or it may be a calculated bit of political indoctrination with a veneer of objectivity' (2006:4). However, at the end, it is up to the critical reader to accept or not to accept the position of a newspaper.

2.1. Media discourse

This project draws on a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method appears to be well suited to examine manifest or more readily apparent meanings, which makes it an excellent method of revealing at least some of the priorities of the media coverage of the time by the frequency of issues published in the press. In this case, the ratio of positive and negative images regarding the US presence, or the number of

⁵ See David and Burhanudeen (2006:162) on the power of advertisements.

certain images at different periods of crisis, are of particular importance. This type of analysis provides important information on changes and continuities of discursive processes through time (Wodak, 2001:52). To make it more visual, tables are used to display such aspects at the beginning of each subchapter of Chapter 4 and in the Conclusion. On the other hand, qualitative methods, such as discourse analysis, can reveal latent or hidden meanings of the images identified. In particular, it focuses on social problems and explores the relationships of dominance, discrimination and power control as manifested in language (Wodak, 2001:2). Therefore the two methods complement each other.

CDA has been chosen because it is a methodological approach that can add to and enrich cultural studies approaches (Gaddis, 1997:1). It combines analysis of language texts, processes of text production and consumption, and discursive events (Fairclough, 2010:9, 264, 555). There is no commonly accepted version of critical discourse analysis (Barker and Galasinski, 2001:62). However, for the purpose of this study, I have decided to draw in particular on Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, because their focus on questions of social power and discursive history seems key for my study.

Fairclough uses CDA for social analysis, and in his approach he focuses on textual analysis, discourse practices and social practices. He sees discourse as social action and interaction when people interact together in real social situations. For Fairclough the social, cultural, political and economical backgrounds against which texts are written are equally relevant, and it is this interdisciplinary dimension of text production which is key for my analysis of local newspaper images in times of crisis. It demands a socio-cultural analysis in which media texts have to be linked to ideologies, power relations and cultural values (Fairclough, 1995a:24). Consequently, Fairclough's text analysis is a form of 'qualitative' social analysis which can be supplemented by quantitative analysis (2003:3), and this confirms the methods outlined so far for this project. I have considered repetitions, vocabulary, text structure, punctuation, sentence construction, intertextuality and source attribution, as well as nonverbal message components (such as page layout, frames, font style, font size) in their link to social identity constructs.

In his analysis of British media, Fairclough argues that the balance of sources, perspectives and ideology is overwhelmingly in favour of existing power-holders. Therefore, media power relations can be seen as relations of a 'mediatised' sort, which is

between the power holders and the mass population. This is, Fairclough concludes, the nature of the hidden power that is implicit in the practices of the media (1995a:22). Since his approach focuses on social power and how this is represented and, both explicitly and implicitly, reproduced in the news, it is a helpful tool for revealing possible ideological statements of the newspaper articles this study will explore.

Wodak, on the other hand, argues that only interdisciplinary research is able to make the complex relationship between people, politics and media more transparent, and therefore she suggests the use of 'triangulation', which implies working with different approaches and multi-methodically, using a variety of empirical data and background information like in this case comparing newspaper articles with historical data and discourses of the Cold War (2001:65). In this way, the risk of being biased can significantly be reduced. Her discourse-historical approach tries to integrate information about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive events take place (ibid).

Wodak suggests to focus on strategies of argumentation, predication, nomination and perspectivation, that justify positive or negative attribution, label social actors with stereotypical or evaluative attributions, construct groups, and position the speaker's point of view (2001:72-74). In our case, the analysis of these discursive strategies may help to understand the shift between positive and negative images associated with the presence in the UK. The construct of 'us' and 'them' as basic fundament of discourses of identity and difference (ibid:73) is certainly reflected in the distance the local papers tend to establish between the local population in East Anglia and the Americans. In its expression of sympathy, self-justification, loyalty, disloyalty or tutelage, language shapes the construction and simultaneous deconstruction of self-identity and the identity of the Other (ibid).

Since textual analysis aims to identify meaning-making resources on various linguistic levels, especially on those that position readers into adopting a certain point of view (Wodak, 2008:49), special attention should be paid to modal verbs and modal adverbials because they can express certainty vis-à-vis vagueness and high versus low commitment on the part of the speaker. Adjectives with negative polarity can contribute to heightening the sense of crisis, figures may reflect emphasise, and argumentative devices such as establishment of rapport between author and reader, for example through the use of

rhetorical questions (such as ‘does anyone believe it?’) appeal to the supposedly unifying force of common sense, or to constructions of a ‘we’ group built on the commonality of interest and solidarity between author and reader (Wodak, 2008:42).

To complement Fairclough’s and Wodak’s approaches, this study also considers Teo’s ‘headline theory’. Teo argues that a definitive feature of news reporting is the use of the headline to express the key message of the news. News in the press is organised by the principle of relevance or importance, which means that the reader need only to glance at the headline to obtain a fairly accurate idea of what the whole report is about. Sometimes, some words in the headline are meaningful only if set against a background knowledge that the news report presumes readers to have (2000:8). Headlines are crafted in such way as to employ the minimum number of words to package maximum information as to maximise the effect on the reader. The main headlines are represented in bold type. Every word is carefully chosen and so they can indicate a pattern, significance, atmosphere to have an ideological effect on readers’ perceptions and interpretation of people and events (ibid:14).

Finally, it is worth including strategies of legitimization (Reys, 2011:781, van Dijk, 2006:370) which are of particular interest in situations aimed at obtaining or maintaining power, achieving social acceptance and/or improving community relationships that play a pivotal role in the creation of media images of UK-US relations. Thus, arguments are based on personal experience, scientific evidence or eye-witnessing experience or rationality that can legitimize the speaker’s opinion. For example, personal experience can contribute to the construction of generalization about a specific foreign culture, thus stereotyping. However, Reys argues that rationality is culturally bound since what makes sense or sounds logical in one culture may not make sense in other cultures (2011:804).

2.2. The regions to be studied

I examine the relationship between political and media discourse in the media mainly at local level with focus on the eastern region of England. The reason for selecting this region is that it contained large military bases which raised awareness of the Cold War amongst the local population. Within the eastern region of England, I focus on the following three counties: Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, on the basis that they all

had large USAF bases in the period, such as Alconbury, Lakenheath, Mildenhall, Bentwaters and Molesworth (for numbers of US soldiers in the area see table 1 below). This was owing to their proximity to the Soviet Union which made them valuable locations from which to launch the USAF strategic air offensive (Map 1).

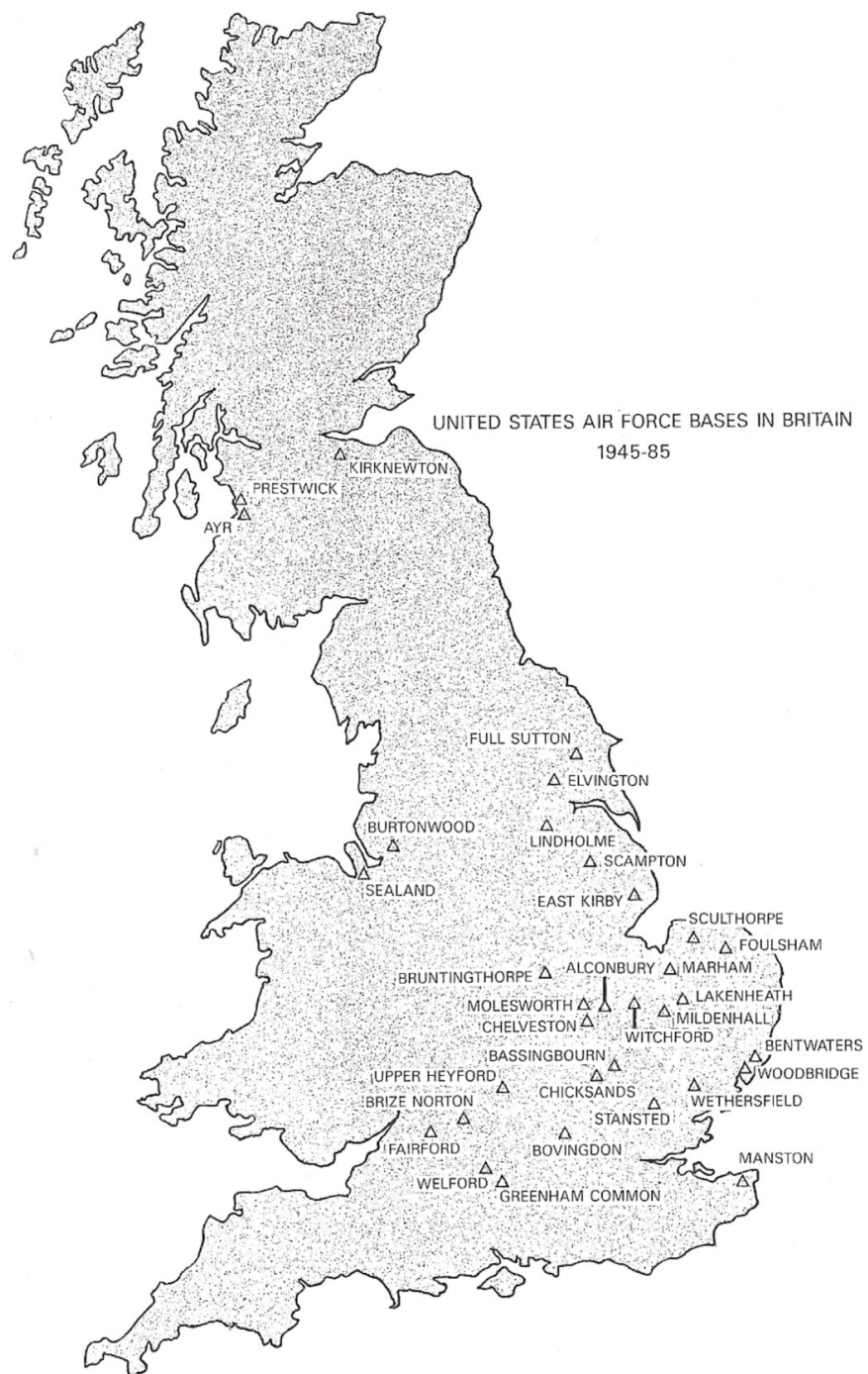
Table 1: USAF bases in the East of England

<i>Date</i>	<i>USAF Bases</i>	<i>US Personnel</i>		<i>Mission Aircraft</i>	
		<i>Military</i>	<i>Civilian^a</i>	<i>Total^b</i>	
June 1949	5	5 818	1 420	c	TDY only
June 1953	43	46 634	3 478	78 548	312
June 1961	Not available	37 689	Not available	82 174	381
December 1963 ^d	23	26 817	6 337	71 297	329
December 1964 ^d	13	23 459	5 540	62 010	315
December 1965 ^e	9	20 959	5 043	57 726	244
December 1966	9	24 835	5 264	64 834	314
December 1967	9	26 079	6 279	66 981	308
June 1968	9	28 995	5 908	68 251	310
June 1969	9	23 473	6 897	64 061	330
June 1970 ^f	8	21 283	6 322	59 744	275
June 1971	8	21 969	4 485	59 272	275
June 1972	8	21 205	4 941	59 413	275
June 1973 ^g	7	22 552	5 213	61 413	274
June 1974	7	23 375	5 110	65 937	278
June 1975	7	22 562	5 200	62 485	274
December 1975	7	22 258	5 376	68 837	274
December 1976 ^h	7	23 570	5 014	59 706	238
December 1977 ⁱ	7	26 473	5 258	61 036	264
December 1978 ^j	7	24 036	3 862	57 266	240
December 1979 ^k	8	24 254	4 621	59 763	288
December 1980 ^k	8	25 784	4 676	64 840	304
December 1981	8	26 830	5 521	63 637	304
December 1982 ^l	9	26 584	5 755	64 894	298
October 1985	9	26 873	4 532	59 251	346 ^m

Notes:

- a. Includes US and UK civilians directly employed by American forces.
- b. Includes dependents.
- c. Does not include dependents.
- d. Reduction in bases and personnel by closure of SAC bomber bases and inactivation of other units.

Map 1: USAF bases in the UK



2.3. The periods to be studied

This study focuses on selected periods of international crisis in its analysis of images of the US in the period. This is useful because images of the US tended to be more readily produced at times of crisis than in others as bases became more active and their activities more prominent. The use of international crises set the boundaries of the research in order to make the project more manageable due to the massive amount of material available over the entire period. In order to achieve a better insight into how images of the American presence changed, the following Cold War periods have been selected:

2.3.1. The Suez crisis 26 July – 15 November 1956

During the Suez crisis, Sir Anthony Eden's Conservative Party was in power. Newspaper articles are examined from the nationalisation of the Suez Canal on 26 July to the first transport of troops of the United Nations Force in Egypt on 15 November 1956. The dates are important because the announcement of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, owned largely by the British and French, escalated into an international crisis. These two, fearing an oil crisis would arise from Egypt's closure of the Suez Canal, decided on military action despite repeated warnings from the US about the use of force. The conflict ended by a ceasefire on 6 November 1956, and on 15 November the first transport of troops of the United Nations Force arrived to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in the Suez Canal area. This was the first UN force established for peacekeeping purposes (*The Canadian contribution to United Nations peacekeeping*, 2001).

Although there was an early unanimous condemnation of Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, divisions began to appear in British politics very soon. While the Conservative government was making preparations for military action against Nasser in order to reclaim the canal, the Labour Party increased its objections to any military action, preferring instead to negotiate. As such, this stance makes the Labour Party's approach similar to that of the US. Jones notes how difficult it was for the Labour leadership in Parliament to express their appreciation of the US's position of opposing any British government proposal to use force during the crisis (Jones, 1997:104). The chasm that appeared between the political parties was reproduced in the national press (Negrine, 1994:108). However, this division was not only between the political parties but within the Conservative Party as well, according to the *Current Intelligence Weekly* published by the

Central Intelligence Agency USA, which was declassified in 2005. There was a possibility of a British cabinet split, which may have been the immediate cause of Britain's agreeing quickly to a ceasefire. Open opposition to Prime Minister Eden's policies had already resulted in the resignation of some of his ministers (*Current Intelligence Weekly*, 8 November 1956, p.4). On 15 November 1956 it was confirmed by supporters of the Eden government to the American Embassy in London that the Conservative Party would be split wide open if Britain was pressured into evacuating Egypt before the UN could assume freedom of navigation in the canal. Domestic opinion was also against the prospect of withdrawal without any principal goal having been achieved thus endangering Eden's position (*ibid*, 15 November 1956, p.4). The same report issued on 6 December 1956 confirmed the Conservative Party's deep division over its policy in the Middle East reporting that some ministers in the government had joined the back-benchers' sharp attack on the US for 'forcing' the retreat (*ibid*, 6 December 1956, p.1).

The US was genuinely angered at being both ignored and deceived, President Eisenhower said that 'he did not see much value in an unworthy and unreliable ally and that the necessity to support them [the British] might not be as great as they believed' (Louis and Owen, 1989:220). With confidence in sterling collapsing the US insisted that any loan was contingent upon an immediate ceasefire and a rapid withdrawal of Anglo-French forces. The British felt that they were treated by the Americans 'as naughty boys who have got to be taught that they cannot go off and act on their own without asking Nanny's permission first' (*ibid*:228). Not surprisingly, these events led not only to petrol shortages but also to a significant deterioration in Anglo-American relations. The US embassy in London recorded on 23 November that anti-American feeling in the UK was at a very high pitch (Dumbrell, 2001:47). Also, the *Current Intelligence Weekly* reported that Britain was looking at an indefinite period of financial crisis as Britain's gold and dollar reserves dropped significantly and reached the lowest figure since 1952 (6 December 1956, p.2.)

This crisis is considered to be the most crucial incident in the special relationship. Indeed, as scrutiny of local newspapers indicates, by far the majority of articles about the American presence are from the 1956 period. The consequences of the Suez crisis for Britain were great; the humiliation of the crisis made the British realise the limits of their own power. They had to reassess their relation with the US but it was acknowledged that Washington was right. A British defence review in 1957 concluded that 'in a limited war in

the Mediterranean or in the Far East the UK would only act in cooperation with the US (Louis and Owen, 1989:130). It was proved how much Britain had to rely on the US for security and power.

The findings are examined within this atmosphere and it is explored how the implications of the Suez Crisis affected the relationship between the locals and the American bases within the UK. For example, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that 'notices have been posted up at all American air bases in this country warning US airmen against discussing the Middle East situation with British civilians' (5 November 1956, p.8).

The Cuban missile crisis 22-29 October 1962

During the 1962 Cuban missile crisis Harold MacMillan was head of the Conservative government that ruled the country at the time. The findings are examined from President John F Kennedy's announcement through the Voice of America (VOA) to the world on 22 October 1962 of the existence of secret Soviet missile bases in Cuba and his intention of establishing a naval blockade to the time when Premier Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles from the island on 29 October. The dates are important because the discovery of the secret missile bases made the world realise how quickly the possibility of a nuclear war could arise. Images in the British media were likely to express fears not only over a Soviet attack in East Anglia due to the airbases being loaded with nuclear weapons, but also with regard to the possibility of a global nuclear war⁶. According to the *Cambridge Daily*, the US blockade caused Stock Exchange prices to plummet, and the newspaper also reports fear among the locals of the possibility of being bombed by the Russians (23 October 1962, p.front).

The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 was arguably the nearest the superpowers came to nuclear warfare during the period, as Nikita Khrushchev decided to place nuclear missiles on Cuba. The presence of a number of Soviet cargo vessels in Cuban harbours was indicative but the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) did not have any hard proof until President Kennedy approved a series of U-2 reconnaissance flights over the island. The pictures taken confirmed that there were nine launching sites spread over the island with about 16-24 Soviet SS-4s that could be operational within fourteen days. Pictures taken by the spy plane flying over Cuba were distributed around the world and played a major role

⁶ For further discussion of this fear, see Colman 2007

in persuading foreign opinion that President Kennedy was justified in taking action. The Soviet Union eventually agreed to withdraw the missiles after an American naval blockade and the US promises not to invade Cuba and to remove some NATO missiles from Turkey. Having learnt from the gravest crisis of the Cold War era how quickly it was possible to come near to nuclear war, both sides became constrained in their rivalry by this mutual fear of nuclear force. The first nuclear arms control agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, which prohibited nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere and underwater by signatory nations, was a significant step by the superpowers towards reducing Cold War hostilities (Agnew, 2002:507). The US Information Agency noted a marked shift in the British Press toward the American position (Cull, 2008:216).

The October War 6 – 26 October 1973

At the time of the international crisis of October 1973 Britain was governed by the Conservative Party headed by Edward Heath. The findings are examined from the first date of fighting on 6 October, when Egypt and Syria attacked Israel on the day of Yom Kippur to reclaim the territories lost to Israel during the 6 Day War of 1967. This combined Arab offensive came as a complete surprise for Israel, as it was celebrating Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. Although both sides had limited military success in the first days of the war, by its end, Israeli troops had successfully counter-attacked on both fronts and re-crossed the Suez Canal. Egypt requested a cease-fire on 20 October 1973.

The importance of this war lies in the Soviet response. On 24 October the Soviet Union called for joint American-Soviet military intervention but threatened to intervene unilaterally if cooperation was not forthcoming. In response, the US warned the Soviet Union off, going as far as putting its bases, including those in East Anglia, at almost full alert, which was likely to cause fears about a Soviet attack among the local population. The Yom Kippur War led to an OPEC decision to restrict oil supplies to several Western countries, including Britain. The consequent increase in fuel prices, combined with Britain's entry into the European Economic Community the previous January and ongoing industrial unrest, resulted in a significant increase in inflation. Moreover, in this war Britain found itself not in agreement with the American approach (Jones, 1997:167).

The Afghanistan war December 1979 – August 1980

At the beginning of the Afghanistan war, Great Britain was ruled by the Conservative government headed by Margaret Thatcher, the first female prime minister of the country. The findings are examined from December 1979, when Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan, a key point in the Cold War as it marked the breakdown of East-West *détente*, to the Moscow Olympic Games in August 1980 that the US boycotted. In Britain, it reflected the oil price increases in 1979 as well as the NATO decision to deploy cruise missiles and Pershing II ballistic missiles in Britain to counter the Soviet SS 20 missiles. The British media was likely to present a heated debate on the deployment of cruise missiles in the country. For example, the *Bury Free Press* reported growing missile protests in East Anglia (8 February 1980, p.front).

The invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was largely motivated by Soviet defensive concerns. Afghanistan was an independent country but it was known to be within the Soviet sphere of influence (Fraser and Murray, 2002). The Soviet Union's aim, firstly, was to defend against the Islamic fundamentalists advancing toward its own Muslim provinces. Furthermore, the Soviet leaders sensed a real threat to their own security in Afghanistan. They wanted to replace the vulnerable Amin government, which had replaced the pro-Soviet President Nur Mohammed Taraki, and wanted to prevent the Americans, Chinese and Islamic fundamentalists from gaining from the collapse or defection of the Amin regime. This was especially important after the US began to look for new listening posts in this region after it lost those in Iran after the revolution in this year. It can therefore be argued that the Americans misinterpreted the Soviet motivation for military intervention. They attributed it to expansionism, which seemed to be a threat to the Gulf and its oil and believed that this brutal extension of Soviet power had to be countered: an embargo was imposed on Soviet agricultural products and the US withdrew from the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. Its fears over the USSR's intentions were expressed in a speech by President Carter on 23 January 1980, which was a clear warning to the Soviets: 'An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Pakistan Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the US, and such assault will be repelled by any means necessary including military force' (ibid:208). America's deterrence reinforced the belief of the Soviet Union that there was indeed a real threat.

The 1986 American bombing of Libya 25 March – 5 April 1986

Margaret Thatcher was in her second term as Prime Minister at the time of the bombing of Libya in 1986. The findings are examined from 25 March when the US sunk two Libyan vessels to the time when the US launched an air attack against targets in Libya on 5 April 1986. The British Conservative government agreed to the use of American bases in Britain for these attacks. The Labour Party felt that the US had abused its relationship with Britain. Moreover, the opposition had been demanding greater British influence and control over the Cruise missiles that had been stationed in Britain because it believed that previous informal agreements about the so called ‘dual control’ could no longer be sustained. This is why the Libyan bombing incident could be seen as a blow to the Conservatives’ assertion that American weapons stationed in Britain would only be used after consultation and granting consent (Jones, 1997:199).

On 5 April 1986, in response to a terrorist attack in Germany for which the Reagan Administration held Colonel Muammar Gaddafi’s Libyan regime directly responsible, the US launched air strikes from its bases in the United Kingdom. The US sought approval to use the airspace of other European countries, notably France and Spain, but was refused. The raids were widely criticised in Britain, particularly when evidence emerged of civilian casualties, and the UK government was severely criticised for allowing the use of British airspace. Using British airbases for attacks in Libya was likely to cause concerns among the local population and might affect the relationship between the locals and the bases. For example, the *Cambridge News* reported that people living near the giant USAF Lakenheath and Mildenhall airbases were apprehensive but calm [...] as speculations continued about the possible launch from East Anglia of an American air strike on Libya (14 April 1986, p.4). Housing problem and noise complaints were likely to have an impact on images as well.

2.4. Conclusion

Since relationships between media, people and politics are complex, an interdisciplinary method is needed to make the best possible interpretation of these relationships. In this context, CDA – as proposed by Fairclough and Wodak in particular – appears to be the right interdisciplinary tool for a detailed exploration of images of the US presence in the British media. With regard to the cultural, political and economical

background, I carry out sample text analyses that focus on newspaper articles produced during the five periods under examination.

Chapter 3

About the British media

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this section is to examine how the British media created images about the US and how it utilized its power. The chapter explores how British media policy promoted a free flow of information and enhanced public understanding. It looks at its characteristics, potential and limits, the underlying philosophies and ideologies as well as structure and operation.

Media is a key part of a society that endlessly recreates itself, and it is also the chief means through which a society observes and evaluates itself (Seymour-Ure, 1996:13). It provides information and has a great ability to generate public perceptions, hence its power. What we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us. More specifically, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public. Elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind.

Compared to today's highly sophisticated and digitalized media it is interesting to see how local print press was utilized during the Cold War. Although technology was less advanced than today, its power to inform, form public opinion and entertain was well recognised. In addition, we have to consider the overall purpose for most owners, which is to sell newspapers and generate income, if not maximise profits. All this contributes to the development of ideas and pictures about other countries and cultures which are easily internalised by less critical readers. After all, the media is not a passive instrument, its role is to instruct and influence the audience, unwittingly or by intent. The question is how this is done.

3.2. British media and its characteristics

3.2.1. Scale

It is impossible to ignore the importance of the British media for more than one reason. It is a vital part of the British economy as consumers spend billions on media and in addition, advertising also generates billions (Veljanovski, 1990:9). Media informs, reports, comments as well as markets goods and services. In general, the British have been big newspaper readers by international standards (ibid). As such, the centrality of the press in everyday life has led people to blame the press for a range of social ills. Kevin Williams, by examining the history of media and communication in Britain has concluded that

British people are ready to attribute ‘fabulous powers’ to the mass media (Williams, 2010:1). His historical analysis shows that every medium of mass communication has been accompanied by great claims about the impact of the medium on peoples’ behaviour as well as on the values and mores of society (ibid). In order to support his view, he quotes Pearson who examined the long tradition of complaint against the influence of popular media from the early nineteenth century in Britain. Pearson has found that, for example, in the 1950s concern was expressed about the corrupting and depraving influence of American rock and roll music, which young people listened to (ibid).

3.2.2. Ownership

Newspapers are usually owned and controlled by different companies, and – in an ideal world - choice and competition among the various owners prevent the development of monopolies and ensure freedom and diversity of expression. However, papers under private ownership often have political aims or ambitions, and there is suggestive evidence that particularly famous ‘press barons’ like Rupert Murdoch, Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Thompson may have bought newspapers predominantly to influence governments – (see Williams 2010, Tunstall 1983, Seymour-Ure 1996). Others have mainly commercial interests and so are under pressure to maximise circulation, please readers and attract advertisers, which influences choice and treatment of subjects.

3.2.3. Media control

The British press is a ‘free press’ (Tunstall 1983, Seymour-Ure 1996, Williams 2010), which implies that it is supposedly independent of government, and politicians should have little or no direct control over it. Overall, it is shaped mainly by market forces, and there is minimalist legislation and a voluntary principle (Tunstall, 1983:234). While examining the media in Britain, Jeremy Tunstall refers to British ideals, such as freedom, objectivity, pragmatism and voluntarism, and argues that these have an impact on legislation. In particular, there is a belief that legislation and compulsion do not actually work half as well as a good voluntary agreement (Tunstall, 1983:3-4). Colin Seymour-Ure agrees with Tunstall about the lack of a coherent media policy. The policies that existed were generally uncoordinated, reactive, partial and indirect, and there were only broad objectives and attitudes rather than detailed programmes and plans. This was because the

British governments had ‘hostility towards a single media ministry or a single set of strategic national media goals’ (Seymour-Ure, 1996:228). Policy making is rather fragmented as there are several separate policy agencies involved in the process. Tunstall believes that all these features resulted in the national inability to define media ‘freedom’ (1983:4).

Regarding content, there is a very explicit control or censorship in defence matters, for example by a system called ‘D Notices’ by which certain topics important for national security can be kept out of the papers (Tunstall 1983, Williams 2010, Seymour-Ure 1996). There is also self-censorship, which means that for political reasons, or so as not to upset readers, papers may not publish certain things, for example aspects discreditable to Britain (ibid). Papers are also acting within constraints set by commercial considerations, their (and their readers') political party sympathies and their owners' opinions. Further elaborating on such constraints as commercial considerations, advertising plays an influential role. Firstly, it was advertising revenue that freed the press from direct political control in the twentieth century, secondly without the support of the advertisers the British media would be in a poorer form, many of the newspapers would cost significantly more, or even worse cease to exist (Negrine, 1994:67). Hence, due to their financial input, advertisers can exercise some control over the relevant medium. Also, mainly out of commercial interest, they tend to favour those newspapers, which have readers with usually high purchasing power. In return, the publishers have to make sure that their papers continue to sell in order to sell readers to advertisers (ibid:68). To sum up content production in the British ‘free press’ Ralph Negrine cites Walter Lippmann (1965):

Every newspaper when it reaches the reader is the result of a whole series of selections as to what items shall be printed, in what position they shall be printed, how much space each shall occupy, what emphasis each shall have. There are no objective standards here. There are conventions.

(1994:118)

Journalists in Britain always had a large measure of autonomy. The journalists’ experience and ability of asking crucial questions together with their level of familiarity with the subject and the source appeared to be a crucial factor in producing news. Negrine argues that the lack of any of these could result in a situation where the source could exploit the journalist’s inexperience and so ‘manage’ the news (1994:127). Moreover,

unfamiliarity with a subject could also lead to inaccurate reporting since ‘reporters may cover one side of a story without ever knowing there are other sides’ (ibid). Additionally, from the mid-1950s the entire editorial enterprise is subordinate to the production unions (Seymour-Ure, 1996:241).

3.3. The political colours of local newspapers and parliamentary representation within East Anglia

Victoria Honeyman observes that close relationship with America has been at the heart of Conservative Party policy since the Second World War, which tended to be at its strongest when the Conservatives have been in power (in Heppel and Seawright, 2012:125). As the table at the end of this section shows, in terms of parliamentary elections, the regions discussed were dominated by representatives of the Conservative Party and its National Liberal Allies throughout. The only exception is Ipswich, where in most periods the Labour Party was in power. With this political background in mind, it is worth considering the nature of the papers circulated in the area.

The *Cambridge Independent/Daily/Evening News* have been owned by the aristocratic Iliffe family of whom the first Baron Edward Mauger Iliffe (1877-1960) was even a Conservative MP (DOD’s Parliamentary Companion). The *Bury Free Press*, part of Johnston Press Plc – a Scottish newspaper and book publisher, has been owned by the Johnston Family since its launch in the late 19th century and Johnston Press is now among the ten largest local newspaper publishers in the UK (Franklin, 1998:20). The *Hunts Post* and the *East Anglian Daily Times* are part of the Archant Group which, similarly to Johnston Press, began publishing in the late 19th century. Archant is also a family-owned newspaper group, and one of its backers has been the extremely wealthy Colman family, who founded Colman’s Mustard. The *Suffolk Chronicle* is the only title among all the papers for analysis that closed in the middle of the 20th century.

Officially, all these papers call themselves independent, non-political or free of political thoughts, and Bob Franklin and John Richardson agree with Ian Jackson that the local press is less partisan in showing their political preference than their national counterparts (2002b:36, Richardson and Franklin, 2004:463)⁷. This characteristic is due to the apparently unique position of the local press compared with the national press.

However, Jackson argues, that these papers tend to show their political colours very clearly

⁷ For ways forward to improve local media as democratic resource for citizens, see Schroder and Phillips 2007

at times of elections. Having examined several local newspapers nationwide at the time of the 1970 elections, among them the *Cambridge News* and the *Bury Free Press*, he concludes that the *Cambridge News* explicitly supported the Conservative Party, while the *Bury Free Press* opted for a more neutral position (1971:255-267). This is in line with Hector Hughes's (Labour MP) categorical statement that local newspapers are not labour newspapers (*Hansard*, 30 October 1962, Vol.666:49). In other words, there is suggestive evidence that the local papers examined in this study can be categorised as reflections of a political spectrum that tends to marginalise 'left-wing' perspectives. The papers are either very explicitly Conservative, such as the Cambridge Independent/Daily/Evening News as well as most weeklies disseminated in seaside resorts and established county areas (Jackson 1971: 268), or they show efforts to present balanced opinions, but Labour, socialist or communist perspectives would usually not be supported by the predominantly rich, white, Christian and often Oxbridge educated male owners of the local press. While in some cases there is a direct link between local press ownership and Conservative government (see the first Baron Iliffe), in most cases the link remains more indirect and less visible, but that does not necessarily mean that it is less strong.

***Constituencies and polling results**

Constituency	Year	Winner	Party	Votes
Bury St Edmunds	1956	WT Aitken	Conservative	24532
		N Stanley	Labour	19962
			Conservative majority	4570
			Electorate	56854
	1962	WT Aitken	Conservative	26730
		AM Walter	Labour	18768
			Conservative majority	7962
			Electorate	57908
	1973	E Griffiths	Conservative	36688
		C Seager	Labour	23286
			Conservative majority	13402
			Electorate	78119
	1979-80	E Griffiths	Conservative	41426
		A Gibson	Labour	21167
			Conservative majority	20259
			Electorate	95621
	1986	E Griffiths	Conservative	31081
		Sir R Harland	SDP/All	14959

			Conservative majority	16122
			Electorate	72875
Cambridgeshire	1956	HW Kerr	Conservative	27059
		AL Symonds	Labour	19953
			Con majority	7106
			Electorate	59868
	1962	Sir H Kerr	Conservative	24350
		MD Davies	Labour	17543
			Conservative majority	6807
			Electorate	59745
	1973	DW Lane	Conservative	26252
		GB Scurfield	Labour	21191
			Conservative majority	5061
			Electorate	65905
	1979-80	R James	Conservative	25568
		MH Smith	Labour	20672
			Conservative majority	4796
			Electorate	77666
	1986	RW Rhodes James	Conservative	20931
		M Oakeshott	SDP/All	14963
			Conservative majority	5968
			Electorate	67018
Huntingdonshire	1956	D Renton	NL&C	20609
		JA Franks	Labour	14670
			NL&C majority	5939
			Electorate	45757
	1962	DLM Renton	NL&C	20254
		JW Fear	Labour	11983
			NL&C majority	8271
			Electorate	46794
	1973	Sir DLM Renton	Conservative	27398
		J Curran	Labour	17588
			Conservative majority	9810
			Electorate	66984
	1979-80	J Major	Conservative	40193
		J Fulbrook	Labour	18630
			Conservative majority	21563
			Electorate	93862
	1986	J Major	Conservative	34254
		S Gatiss	L/All	13906
			Conservative majority	20348
			Electorate	96668
Ipswich	1956	Rt Hon RR Stokes	Labour	32306
		JC Cobbold	Conservative	28724
			Labour majority	3582
			Electorate	75792
	1962	DM Foot	Labour	25858

		J Cobbold	Conservative	22623
			Labour majority	3235
			Electorate	77633
	1973	ED Money	Conservative	27704
		Sir D Foot	Labour	27691
			Conservative majority	13
			Electorate	87124
	1979-80	KT Weetch	Labour	34444
		ED Money	Conservative	30703
			Labour majority	3741
			Electorate	88470
	1986	K Weetch	Labour	22191
		E Cottrell	Conservative	21114
			Labour majority	1077
			Electorate	67292

*Source: DOD's Parliamentary Companion

L/All = Liberal Alliance

NL&C = National Liberal and Conservative

SDP/All = Social Democratic Party Alliance

Bury St Edmunds – *Bury Free Press*

Cambridgeshire - *Cambridge News/Cambridge Independent News*

Huntingdonshire – *The Hunts Post*

Ipswich – *East Anglian Daily Times, Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury*

3.4. Conclusion

In general, media coverage brings issues to public attention and public prominence, and – in the periods under scrutiny - for a lot of people print media were the primary sources of information. Apart from articles and editorials there is the reader's letter section, a local forum, where readers can debate local issues, policies, etc. Although on one hand, market forces determine and regulate what can be published in the press, on the other hand, the final selection of articles and readers' letters is due to the journalists and editors whose careers and ultimately also jobs depend on the support of the owners of the particular press. This implies a high degree of subjectivity and is likely to reduce the range of views reflected in the actual publication. However, by deciding what is newsworthy and what is not, the press has the potential to influence public opinion according to given interests.

Chapter 4

Depiction of the US in East Anglia 1956 – 1986

4.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore how the American presence, both actual and abstract, was reported in local newspapers, at times of crises. The fact that these local papers were issued near airbases might suggest that they had good knowledge of local affairs and therefore they were the source of all sorts of local news and views of the local population. The subsequent implications of the American presence and how the news media deal with presuppositions, perceptions and misperceptions during this period will be examined.

Scrutiny of the press, as will be seen, suggests that attitudes to the Americans reflect familiar stereotypes, such as the ‘over here’ again and the ‘over sexed’. However,

analysis of these articles also implies that these stereotypes are frequently reconstructed in the local press only for the purpose of their deconstruction. There are not many detailed studies on feelings and attitudes of local people towards the American presence in the UK and the role played by the British media in mediating between these two parties. Neil Sparnon's doctoral thesis, one of the very few studies that deal with aspects of the American presence in the East Anglian regions, examines similar issues from 1946 to 1964 but with different methodology. It focuses mainly on how local opinions influenced policy making by the USAF and the RAF, and only up to 1964, while this study examines how local opinions were presented in the local media at times of international crisis during the Cold War and how this media influenced opinion making towards the American presence.

To contain the real or perceived threat posed by the Soviet Union, the US maintained a dense network of American military bases in Britain, as well as a continuous political and economic commitment with a strong cultural presence. The establishment of the American bases in the UK and the tens of thousands of American military personnel and their dependants occupying them were unavoidably a source of all kinds of issues, such as driving incidents, noisy aircrafts, open days, sport events, dangers of nuclear attacks etc., which were commented on in the media. In case of war, these bases meant to serve as vital air force and logistics centres as part of America's forward defence. Both Duke (1987) and John Dumbrell (2001) discuss the bases in great detail, addressing issues such as their importance to the US and their changing role over the years.

There have always been groups of people, not only in the UK, who did not like the Americans and there were also people who were strongly pro-American. The first group tended to portray the US as a dangerous superpower; the other was inclined to view it as a land of liberty, democracy and prosperity. The presence of the large network of American military airbases on British soil with their tens of thousands of personnel was a sign of the US's power and strength that could not be ignored. This fact alone, without knowing how the American personnel behaved, seemed enough for some to generate certain perceptions or misperceptions and presuppositions, or simply negative feelings towards them. These feelings are frequently linked to previous experience such as the stationing of GIs during the Second World War, which was the source of the well-known phrase of 'over-sexed, over-paid, and over here' GIs suggesting a critical view of the Americans (Campbell, 1984:40; Deer, 2004:166; Duke, 1987:110; Wilford, 2006:36). To this initial stereotyping

was now added the presence of the American airbases and bombers, which perhaps unintentionally, have contributed to British anti-American feelings. There was also an openly political opposition, mainly held by Left-wing and anti-war groups. To what extent were there shared perceptions of the US held by the majority of the population of East Anglia? Was British anti-Americanism only a 'myth' that everybody talked about – to quote Richard Pells (1997:xiv) - or did it have a substantial basis?

There is a vast amount of literature discussing different aspects of anti-Americanism in Britain. Academic analysis of the meaning of anti-Americanism in Britain has taken several approaches. For example, Patrick Deer examines political and economic reasons for anti-American feelings, such as the US refusal to share nuclear weapons secrets that encouraged Britain's own costly pursuit of an independent nuclear deterrent, or America's material prosperity and unbridled consumerism at a time of enforced austerity in Britain (2004:158-170). Deer believes the most likely reason for British resentment was the fact that Britain had been downgraded to a subordinate player in the Cold War (ibid). Pells agrees that in the Cold War years Britain surrendered much of its political and economic independence to the United States (1997:158). In addition, attitudes towards the US were also shaped by real conflicts involving fundamental national interest, such as the Suez crisis or the installation of nuclear weapons on British soil. Opposition to the use of nuclear power only became a movement in the 1960s. There were protests already in the early 1950s that took place during the building of the Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston in Berkshire, at Mildenhall USAF in East Anglia and at Porton Down microbiological research centre on Salisbury Plain. Kate Hudson, who researches extensively the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) movement says that these actions were small but received significant press attention (2005:35). In addition to the war experiences of the Cold War, CND had a significant impact on public opinion by highlighting the horrors of nuclear war. It has continuously expressed the increasing public concern over the danger of nuclear weapons and nuclear tests, and it also campaigned to change government policies. Hudson believes that CND, with all these actions, significantly contributed to the prevention of nuclear war over Berlin and Cuba (ibid:61). Thus, not always unreasonably, nuclear issues have raised extreme passions. There were demonstrations against the deployment of American atomic bombs first in the 1950s, and against Pershing missiles as late as the 1980s. Thompson writes that Lakenheath and Upper Heyford were thought to be established as 'centres of genocide under the sole control of

US generals' (1980, cited in Dumbrell, 2001:29). Hollander says that anti-nuclear activists at Greenham Common in the early 1980s charged that Britain was a 'nuclear dump for a foreign power' (1992, cited in Dumbrell, 2001:30).

Pells believes that opinions about the US were frequently linked to Party affiliations and positions taken in domestic issues (1997:155). A British Tory was far more likely to identify with and support America's economic policies (ibid). This view is also supported by Dumbrell. The examination of articles in the local and national press at times of crisis and under different governments will help in verifying this general view. Among Dumbrell's groupings of the varieties of typology of British anti-Americanism there are also leftist criticism and nationalism (2001:27). Dumbrell says that leftist anti-Americanism often reflected cultural attitudes as well as socialist values (2001:29). This focuses on the imperialist thrust of American foreign policy and the dangerous influence of American intelligence agencies. According to a left wing Labour MP, Ken Livingstone, US intelligence had someone sympathetic in virtually every new Labour ministry and achieved almost complete dominance at the Ministry of Defence (1998, cited in Dumbrell, 2001:29). The British Left often viewed the US as undemocratic and as destructive as the Soviet Union (Dumbrell, 2001:30). It will be seen how this perception, especially at the time of the Libya bombing translated into images in the press.

Transatlantic cultural influence was also of major importance in creating attitudes towards the US in the postwar years, and here responses did not necessarily match political attitudes. For example, some aspects of American culture were attractive to those on the left side of the political spectrum, who found Americanisation in some ways a cultural liberation. Director of film and theatre Richard Eyre remembers this feeling: 'isolated in the epicentre of Englishness, my brain was willingly, indeed eagerly, colonised by American culture ... It wasn't just that American culture was something other, something not British, it was simply better than anything we had' (n.d., cited in Hennessy, 2006:16). Despite the common language American culture seemed very different to that of the British, as discussed by many historians such as Duke (1987:ch.6), Reynolds (1995:chs.2,3,24) and Brands (2001:219). David Frost and Michael Shea (1986) even published a book entitled *The Mid-Atlantic Companion* on how to misunderstand Americans as much as they misunderstand the British. These authors explore the differences between the two countries in great detail and conclude that Britain and the

United States are 'separated by many more things than just a common language, even that which is commonly uncommon'(1986:vii). These two countries are as biased, even bigoted, about each other as they are prejudiced in favour of themselves (ibid). For example, the differences in culture, taste in music or British traditional life versus American modernity are good examples. Dumbrell's groupings, apart from the political and economical points of view, also include cultural concerns such as music, coca-cola and fast food chains, and film, (2001:27). What is more, for the leading Left-wing cultural theorist Richard Hoggart it was a kind of cultural imperialism, a matter of Coca-Colonization - Peter Hennessy attributes this phrase to the publisher and US diplomat Clare Booth Luce (2006:15) - which turns British society into an 'American-lite' society (ibid). Robert Catley even traces the origins of this attitude back to Charles Dickens's view of American culture, that he formed after his tour of America in 1842 and concluded that it was 'shallow and fragile' (2007:174). The scrutiny of the press suggests that there was a great effort invested on both sides in bringing the two parties closer to each other with various results.

Alan Dobson, also examining Anglo-American relations from the cultural point of view, quotes Robert Craigie (1928) at the American Department of the British Foreign Office who sums up the difficulties between the two nations as 'the clash of differing national characteristics emphasised by the existence of a common language; the growing discrepancies of speech and style within that "common" language ... ' (1995:3). Dobson finds it ironical that language for both its common and its different usage is being blamed for problems in Anglo-American relations (ibid). Language and cultural differences seem to be the easiest issues to blame for problems and misunderstandings in a relationship.

Examining public opinion surveys, Dumbrell claims that sceptical attitudes did not amount to rabid hostility and believes that they were understandable expressions of group feeling towards an ever-present and powerful 'other' (2001:25). There are scholars who believe that it was an obvious reaction from the British populace towards the Americans. Jackson has a similar opinion and states that the reactions displayed towards the Americans varied from love to hate, for example they were described as 'Russians with creases in their trousers' (1986:154). He concludes that regardless of personal feelings, the Americans were a fact of British life and it was hard to ignore them. Even more, Frost and Shea suggest that the one thing not to be worried about in Britain is anti-Americanism

(1987:2). The reason is that ‘Americans generally have the decency to try to speak the same language even if ... they can’t actually speak decent Shakespearean English’ therefore the British find Americans hard to dislike (ibid). Stephan also agrees that the shared language has made anti-Americanism a less emotive issue in the UK than in many continental European countries (2006:23). Hugh Wilford is of the same opinion and considers Britain relatively open to American cultural influences and argues that the reason is the high number of immigrants to the US over a period of several centuries that has created strong cultural ties (2006:23-44). He concurs that the shared language has played an important role in Britain’s importation of American culture (ibid). Pells believes that perhaps anti-Americanism may have a basis in objective facts about America (1997:156). Rather, it was to reassert a British identity in the face of America’s overwhelming military, economic and cultural presence (ibid). Stephan agrees with Pells that anti-Americanism was only a label of British resistance against the spread of American culture (2006:8).

Marcus Cunliffe, one of many authors, cites the American humorist Art Buchwald (1957) who summarises the British opinions of the Americans and has come up with a remedy:

If Americans would stop spending money, talking loudly in public places, telling the British who won the war, adopt a pro-colonial policy, back future British expeditions to Suez, stop taking oil out of the Middle East, stop chewing gum, ... move their air bases out of England, settle the desegregation problem in the South ... put the American woman in her proper place, and not export Rock ‘n’ Roll, and speak correct English, the tension between the two countries might ease and the British and Americans would like each other again.

(1986:24)

Apparently, Buchwald placed an advertisement in *The Times* asking people why they disliked Americans and the above quotation is the summary of his survey. On one hand it might be a caricature, but on the other, Buchwald gives a brilliant and humorous summary of how the ordinary British people perceived the Americans on an everyday level. This study assesses a similar issue at different periods and analyses how perceptions and misperceptions change through the period and examines any recurring and new image of the Americans.

The common language seems to make the British case more interesting as it on one hand seemed to promote and on the other hand it seemed to undermine good relations

between the two nations. Drawing on the research by all of the above, this study would argue that there was a significant and vocal minority of British people, who for different reasons, disliked different aspects of America and the American presence in Britain. But their views only overlapped to a certain extent, so that cultural hostility was often counteracted by political sympathy, and vice versa. Anti-American sentiment was also a set of powerful emotions that could be triggered at any moment regardless of the specific issue (Pells, 1997:156). From the cultural point of view, to the local people, anti-Americanism stemmed mainly from their fear of the spread of that ‘shallow and fragile’ American culture – to use again Charles Dickens’ description of the American culture – that would endanger their comparatively conservative society and morals. From the economic point of view, their old fashioned local businesses could be wiped out by the American presence that would inevitably bring modernity.

The following sections examine key images of the US presence as reflected in local newspapers and will consider how they compare with the academic debate summarised above. Following a first analysis which identified basic patterns of framing the Other, 4.2 will focus on negative portrayals (the US presence as a threat and/or nuisance), while 4.3 will elaborate on positive images (Americans as friends), and 4.4 will discuss more neutral portrayals.

4.2. The US presence – between nuisance and threat

This section discusses negative portrayals of the Americans in the East Anglian press. These are particularly the national threat, the local threat of the ‘dangerous driver’ and the concept of ‘the nuisance American’. Most of the images were found in the *Cambridge News* and the *Bury Free Press*, and the main image seems to be the national threat, followed by ‘the dangerous driver as local threat’, as the following table demonstrates. The discussion is in descending order of the number of images found in the papers, indicating the level of importance.

Overview of sources:

Images	The dangerous driver as local threat	The national threat	The nuisance American	Total
Sources				

C N	14	15	8	37
B F P	15	28	7	50
H P	5	4	7	16
S M	7	0	0	7
E A D T	0	8	2	10
Total	41	55	24	120

4.2.1. The national threat

The national threat is one of the most discussed themes, and this includes air crashes. Some of these seem so important or perhaps dangerous that they are discussed at both national and local levels and analysed in detail by American studies experts, such as Bowyer (1979), Duke (1987) and Jackson (1986). A good example is when an atomic bomb carrier crashed in July 1956. The incident is reported in both *The Manchester Guardian* and the *Bury Free Press*. *The Manchester Guardian*'s front page article is dated 28 July 1956 with the title *Atomic-bomb Plane Crashes: 4 dead. 'Keep away' broadcast* and reports:

USAF B-47 Stratojet medium bomber skidded and burst into flames while practising taking off and landing at Lakenheath air base. Air Force fire crews were joined by British firemen from Mildenhall, and men were evacuated from buildings near the aircraft because of the danger of its fuel tanks exploding. A police car toured the village at Lakenheath broadcasting 'Keep away from the base. There is some danger but no cause for alarm.' The crash occurred near a bomb dump.

In comparison, the *Bury Free Press* article is also reported on the front page but a few days later, on 3 August 1956, entitled *All crew die as US stratojet bomber crashes* and reports:

An American B-47 stratojet bomber crashed and caught fire while landing at Lakenheath USAF. [...] It was here on a temporary basis from a bombing wing in Lincoln, USA. Local firemen helped USAF units to put out the flames. The plane was the type capable of carrying an atom bomb.

The front page display by both papers highlights the importance of the news. A key difference is that the article in the national paper seems to be more categorical and more eye-catching by emphasising the aircraft an atomic-bomb plane in the title, which leads

more attention to a possible disaster. Also, each paper emphasises different issues. While the national paper says that 'Air Force fire crews were joined by British firemen', the local press stresses the opposite by saying that 'Local firemen helped USAF units to put out the flames'. Reading the articles side by side shows the difference between what a national paper was more concerned of compared with a local paper. The incident might question the safety of the local population and draw attention to the fact that apart from the noise issue there might be other more serious implications of having the Americans in the country. Thus, the reporting of this accident might enforce the belief of those who oppose to the stationing of the US forces.

Considering the image of the national threat against the political background of the period it is not surprising that anti-Americanism flared up during the Suez Crisis. This is one of the very few images that continues to be present in every period examined. *The Manchester Guardian* reported that 'notices have been put up at the USAF base at Burtonwood, [], warning US airmen against discussing the Middle East situation with British civilians employed on the camp. [...] similar notices have been posted up at all American air bases in this country on the instructions of the 3rd USAF headquarters' (5 November 1956, p.8).

The events during the Suez crisis led to a significant deterioration in Anglo-American relations because the crisis proved how much Britain had to rely on America for security and power. Dumbrell noted that anti-American feeling in the UK was at a very high pitch, as recorded by the US embassy in London (2001:47). Deer, on the other hand, believes that this anti-American feeling was not univocal because only those opposed to the US who did not like the attitude of the US in Egypt and who were supporters of the prime minister while the majority remained sympathetic toward the US (2004:167). According to records of Parliamentary debates the Prime Minister was not aware or did not want to admit of any anti-American sentiment but agreed that there indeed appeared to be a deterioration in Anglo-American relations. On the contrary, Mr Henderson from the Labour Party stated the figures:

May I ask the PM whether it is his intention to seek to re-establish relations between the US Government on their former basis of confidence and co-operation; and, if so, will he repudiate the anti-American sentiments contained in the Motion on the Order Paper⁸ which is signed by more than 100 of his supporters?

⁸ [That this House congratulates the Foreign Secretary on his efforts to secure international control of the Suez Canal, and deplores both the Resolution of the

The Prime Minister: I do not know about anti-American sentiments, but I can assure the right hon. and learned Gentleman that that is my desire, and that is very well known to be my desire by the Administration of the US.

[...]

Sir R Grimston (NC): Does my right hon. Friend realise that the Motion referred to represented very widely-held feelings in this country?

The Prime Minister: I was really only trying to deal with the Question on the Order Paper, which was in reference to a meeting, and I think I have answered that clearly. I think that the conclusion I have put before the House is the correct one.

(Hansard, 18 December 1956, Vol.562:1099)

Jones notes that although the special relationship was clearly affected negatively as the result of the Suez crisis, British public attitudes towards America still stood over 50% even on the eve of the military action (1997:106).

After the Suez crisis both sides made strenuous efforts to restore Anglo-American relations from the all-time low they had reached during the crisis. Then in March 1957, at the Bermuda meeting, Harold Macmillan agreed to the siting of 60 US Thor intermediate-range ballistic missiles in East Anglia. The use of these missiles was subject to a British veto under the so-called dual key system, which was officially the sign of trust and restored relations. The Prime Minister confirmed this agreement during Parliamentary debates on ballistic missiles:

[...] they are to be the property of Her Majesty's Government and to be manned by British troops, who will, of course, receive their prior training from American experts. [...] they would not be fired by any except British personnel, but the warhead would be in the control of the US, and, to that extent, the US Government would have a negative control.

Mr Shinwell (Labour): Does the right hon. Gentleman's reply mean that these intercontinental ballistic missiles in the possession of the US forces, if at any time in this country, would not be used unless with the full consent of Her Majesty's Government.

The Prime Minister: I tried to make that clear; and I went on to say that it is absolutely untrue to say that the President and not the British Government will decide when the missiles will be launched and for what purpose.

(Hansard, 9 April 1957, Vol.568:963)

Minister of Defence, Duncan Sandys argued that 'so long as American air forces remain in Europe, and American bombers are based in Britain, it might conceivably be thought safe – General Assembly calling for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British and French troops from Egypt, and the attitude of the USA which is gravely endangering the Atlantic alliance]

I am not saying that it would – to leave the US the sole responsibility for providing the nuclear deterrent...’. The Prime Minister also confirmed that the presence of the US bases in the UK was not only for their protection but for Britain’s as well, and for mutual advantage (*Hansard*, 28 January 1957, Vol.563:667).

Previously, the Secretary of Defence, then Neil McElroy, had praised the benefits of advanced bases with an intermediate range ballistic missile, such as Thor, giving ‘less probability of error compared to the intercontinental ballistic missile projects and much greater control because of the shorter distance’ (Duke, 1987:131). However, Duke highlights their faults, such as vulnerability to sabotage and unreliability due to their long preparation time. They were also costly, estimated at millions of pounds considering that it was a sort of missile to which the British could not fit their own warhead and these missile bases could not be adopted for use by any other missiles. Duke also believes that they were more clearly a Russian first-strike target than other bases and argues that much of the uneasiness about the missile bases was wide of the mark since, in principle, they were no different from the American bomber bases that far outnumbered the missile bases in numbers and destructive potential (1987:132).

Not surprising after all that the image of the national threat not only remains during the Cuban crisis but also becomes dominant. The following article draws attention to the fact of how dangerous it is to have American bases in the UK:

The defence correspondence says that if President Kennedy’s sources of intelligence about Cuba are reliable – and there is no reason to doubt them – the development there of launching sites for medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles is an astonishing provocation by the Soviet Union. [...] Russian plans to set up surface to surface missiles in South America are likely to mean that they would hope to retaliate against any western nuclear attack by first striking at American missile bases. [...] It is not surprising that the US have put the worst interpretation on the latest Soviet activities in Cuba.

(*The Times*, 23 October 1962, p.10)

As a result of this situation, all the US forces, including the forces in Britain, were put on nuclear alert DEFCON 3 status for three days. They were brought up to a high degree of readiness, armed and combat ready, civilian personnel on the bases were sent home, and the bases themselves sealed off from the outside and their perimeters secured by armed patrols. Mr Harold Wilson from the Labour Party commented on the high degree of

nuclear alert that 'the arms build-up sharply distorted the existing nuclear balance. A fifteen minutes' warning of nuclear attack reduced to three minutes' notice may not seem so striking to us who have been living under four minutes' notice for years, but that is not how it is viewed in the US (*Hansard*, 31 October 1962, Vol.666:155). This comment indicates sympathy towards the American airmen stationed in the UK. Even the Queen's speech reflected worry:

My Government were gravely concerned at the dangers of the recent introduction of offensive missiles into Cuba. They have played their full part in close consultation with My allies, in efforts to deal with the critical situation which arose. My Government were glad to learn that those missiles are to be dismantled under the supervision of the United Nations. They will co-operate with My allies in seeking wider agreements in the field of controlled disarmament.

(*Hansard*, 30 October 1962, Vol.666:4)

Apart from worry, the message was that collaboration and relationship with America should continue even more at such a crucial time. According to Peter Hahn it was not surprising that Britain defended the American policy in the Cuban missile crisis. He believes it was due to the friendship between the British Prime Minister Macmillan, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Macmillan's ambassador to Washington who became a personal friend and member of the President Kennedy's inner circle (2000:284). However, Hudson argues that the British government had concerns about the possibility of a war and expressed its doubt about the legality of the naval blockade. According to Hudson, Prime Minister Macmillan even offered to 'scrap the Thor missiles in a trade-off for the Soviet missiles in Cuba to save the Russians' face' (2005:83). Part of the agreement between the superpowers was a secret deal – according to Hudson - that the US would subsequently withdraw its nuclear weapons from Turkey (*ibid*). How could it be secret if it was published in the local papers when Khrushchev wrote to Kennedy saying 'Let's do a deal. We will quit if you leave Turkey' (*Cambridge Daily*, 27 October 1962, p.front). According to Richard Lamb, the letter from Khrushchev to Kennedy that contained this 'secret deal' was widely published in the newspapers in general (1995:355). This is in line with the local papers thus opposing Hudson's view.

In *The Times* the situation was viewed as follows:

It is a sad and melancholy fact that so many people in Britain look upon President Kennedy's partial blockade of Cuba with hostility and suspicion. Would any British government allow hostile ships to land in Southern Ireland to stock missile bases just discovered to be pointing at Britain? I do not believe that the people who raise these suspicions speak for England

(27 October 1962, p.9)

Here the author of the article uses a rhetorical question to build rapport with other readers by appealing to common sense (Wodak, 2008:42). Hence, the author supports his own argument to justify the American decision regarding Cuba and its consequences for Britain. However, the same issue appears different living near an American airbase even if people try to accept the situation:

Calm, rural West-Suffolk may be more than 3000 miles from the hot-blooded flashpoint of Castro's republic of Cuba, but in and around Bury St Edmunds many people felt as near to a possible front line of a nuclear war on Wednesday, as did the Americans in Florida and South America: the gigantic US airbase at Lakenheath, or Britain's V-bomber station at Honington are just around the doorstep

(*Bury Free Press*, 26 October 1962, p.front).

Both the construction and the front page display of this article serve to construct the image of the Americans as national threat in the local paper. A numerical figure and contrasting adjectives are used for rhetoric to heighten the sense of crisis (Wodak, 2008:42). In the so called concessive semantic relation the first clause describes the geographical locations and the distance between them stressing the impossibility of any danger, whereas the rest of the sentence following the 'but' is very negative about the situation and implies the opposite (Fairclough, 2003:89).

It is fear and the helpless acceptance of the situation that best describes local reaction to the Cuban crisis. Through a housewife's eyes 'It's these bases round here that frighten me. It's common knowledge that the country is loaded with nuclear weapons. I bet old Khrushchev has got West Suffolk pin-pointed. If the balloon does go up I bet we will be one of the first places to get a Russian bomb' (*Bury Free Press*, 26 October 1962, p.front). Ordinary people knew what was going on at the bases and what sort of danger they may have been in. This helpless acceptance of the situation is clearly projected through the articles. People just tried to carry on: 'Bury maintained its calm dignity. People

went to churches to pray when the blockade was announced. In the evening they celebrated in the pubs - traditional English way - when no fighting broke out' (ibid). Naturally, debates in the House of Parliament were also centred on nuclear issues in relation with the Cuban crisis. After praising the beauty and location of 'the Bury St Edmunds division of Suffolk', W T Aitken – a Conservative Party MP from Bury St Edmunds - , adds that it was also the centre of the nuclear defence of this country. He assures the House that

[...] living in the middle of a nuclear arsenal has never seemed to perturb the people of West Suffolk unduly, except during the last few days. I had a letter from a constituent expressing the gravest apprehension in connection with this matter, but I am glad to tell the House that his apprehension and fears were concerned mainly with the rising cost to the ratepayers of dealing with and removing the not infrequent visits of nuclear disarmament demonstrators.

Mr Michael Foot (LAB): No wonder they elect the hon. Member.

(*Hansard*, 30 October 1962, Vol.666:4)

This sort of conversation between two members of Parliament is in line with their Party affiliations. It also indicates that even among the local people who lived near the airbases not everybody was against the presence of the Americans, as the above Conservative MP refers to a constituent. For these people, the American presence represented safety.

Journalist Christopher Booker commented on the situation of the Cuban crisis, highlighting the feeling of defencelessness that the 'country was being hypnotized for a full week "by what appeared to be the most dangerous crisis in its history with the world teetering on the brink of disaster and England forced to look on stupefied and powerless" (nd, cited in Lamb, 1995:356). The following article proves Booker's opinion from the economic point of view when people were preoccupied with praying for a positive outcome of the situation, 'Trade takes a toss' in local towns (*Bury Free Press*, 26 October 1962, p.front). The general effect, however, seemed to be even more serious as 'the US blockade had a multi-million £ reaction in the City today. Stock exchange prices were lowered sharply. Gilt-Edged securities plunged by up to £2 in their worst morning for a long time. War loan lost £2 by lunch time' (*Cambridge Daily*, 23 October 1962, p.front). From the economical point of view the American presence did not seem beneficial at all under the circumstances.

Apart from the papers highlighting the dangers and negative economical effect of the US blockade there are people who doubt the skills and capability of the American airforce to successfully engage in combats:

Sir, the repeated failures by the Americans to carry out high level nuclear tests raise and imply disturbing questions. Of the tests so far one has been successful and four have been terminated by chemical explosion following malfunctions of the rockets. Also, whether an effective American rocket deterrent really exists? One assumes that these tests have been carried out by highly skilled and experienced men after long and careful preparation. If the failure rate of these rocket launches is 80% one wonders how many rockets would have to be launched in wartime before one arrived near its target area.

(*The Times*, 22 October 1962, p.11)

Apart from this sort of military defect discussed in a national paper, a local paper is concerned with an air crash that occurred during a test flight and 'the pilot was killed when a F100 Super Sabre fighter from the US Air Force 79th Tactical Fighter Squadron at RAF Woodbridge (Suffolk) crashed and burst into flames near Southwold today' (*Cambridge Daily*, 1 October 1962, p.9). Although it crashed into a marsh this time, the incident similarly questions the ability and skills of the Americans and raises the alarm for the local population.

As press reports suggest, the fear of a nuclear war during this period seems to determine and highlight the widespread anti-American sentiment. This agrees with a poll in 1962, which showed that 82% of the UK favoured an agreement to eliminate the nuclear bomb. By the following year there was a slight increase in the number of supporters in abolishing nuclear weapons (Hudson, 2005:61). The feeling of defencelessness is the central image and it seems that there is not a single reason that would initiate a positive image in the media about the Americans.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s there was a heated debate in the local papers about whether the Americans should now go home. The predominant image is still the national threat, the dangerous American. It is not surprising considering the political background. It was during this period that Anglo-American relations were continually troubled by the presence of a strong peace movement, who chose as a focus of attack the US nuclear bases. There was also a steady increase in American military personnel. By the

late 1970s the UK was host to roughly 40% of the US air commitment to NATO as well as a major submarine base (Duke, 1987:179). The increase in the number of American personnel in the area was reflected in the local papers publishing advertisements for accommodation: 'Required for rental by USAF personnel unfurnished houses, bungalows, and flats within 25 miles of Lakenheath and Mildenhall' (*Bury Free Press*, 14, 28 March 1980, p.33, 41). These advertisements appeared in bold tables making them more eye-catching for the reader. These might also appear to the reader as indication for choosing the area for the possible siting of the new missiles.

Then, in 1979, James Callaghan's Labour government agreed to the deployment of the new cruise missiles that were designed to counter Soviet SS-20s (Dumbrell, 2001:143, Hudson, 2005:121). The international landscape was also changing with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which resulted in the breakdown of *détente*. Naturally, these issues did affect the feeling of security in many people and so they were not sure how much security the American presence meant any longer. The local papers were full of articles and debates regarding the Anglo-American relationship and the issues relating to nuclear missiles. However, a local MP criticized the press for not having the right choice for coverage of events. His argument was that while the national press and TV did widespread coverage of fears of industrial strikes and violence, the local paper did not even mention these issues, instead focusing only on the cruise missiles and their relating debates. Although the MP emphasised the importance of the debate over cruise missiles both locally and nationally, he expressed his worries about such uneven coverage of events in the press (*Bury Free Press*, 15 February 1980, p.4). This indicates that there were regional differences and interests in press reports. But just as before, in the case of the plane crash in July 1956, the local press was occupied with issues concerning the local area.

The NATO decision to deploy ground-launched cruise missiles in the UK was one of the most controversial developments in the history of the American bases in Britain. There were peace movements against a possible nuclear war and major debates about the missiles and the American presence. It was Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan – without parliamentary consultation – who agreed in 1979 to the siting of 160 of the 572 new nuclear missiles to counter the Soviet SS-20s in Britain. At a Parliamentary debate in February 1980 the number of new US ground-launched cruise missiles to be based in the

UK was confirmed by the Secretary for Defence (*Hansard*, 12 February 1980, Vol.978:561). These missiles were to be sited from 1983 at two main bases in the UK. There were speculations that one of them was going to be Lakenheath. However, according to Parliamentary documents, Lakenheath was not mentioned as a possible site for these nuclear missiles. In November 1979, the Secretary for Defence was asked by a MP whether there were any plans to station cruise missiles at Greenham Common. His reply to this was that the Alliance had yet to decide on the modernisation of its theatre nuclear forces, and no decisions on basing had yet been taken (*Hansard*, 26 November 1979, Vol.974:501). Even two months later the Secretary for Defence stated that they were still discussing with the government of the US the location of the 160 cruise missiles to be based in this country. He added that USAF main operating and standby bases figured among the options, but it was premature to speculate on the outcome at that stage (*Hansard*, 30 January 1980, Vol.977:682).

However, even the idea of deploying missiles at Lakenheath provoked intense local opposition and a 'Bury St Edmunds group formed to oppose the siting of cruise missiles in East Anglia gave their backing for a protest march to Lakenheath. Against cruise missiles in East Anglia (ACMEA) also backed plans for a public debate in Bury. At the end of the march there will be a dramatic event - but nobody would say what it was!' (*Bury Free Press*, 7 March 1980, p.3). There was some dramatisation here, possibly trying to build on the curiosity of people so more would come to the march. A front page article in *The Hunts Post* entitled *Will Alconbury be chosen as missile base* did not stir such heated debate than a similar idea for Lakenheath airbase in the *Bury Free Press* (13 December 1979, p.front). The article in *The Hunts Post* was an interview with John Major, who was at that time the Conservative MP for Huntingdon. He supported the idea of choosing Alconbury if it was necessary but he also had arguments against this plan. These included the argument that Britain should not be increasing its armed defences, that there was a possibility of an accident, and that it would make East Anglia a prime target for an attack. However, he concluded that 'those who think we should discern should go and tell Mr Brezhnev to do the same and reduce Soviet weaponry. Geographically, East Anglia is in any case a prime target whether it houses weaponry or not' (ibid). The following two maps clearly prove this theory. The first map illustrates a British view of 'Target Britain', where the US bases are nuclear targets in British civil defence exercises. The second map shows a Soviet view of 'Target Britain' and highlights the American bases that were specifically

identified by the Soviets because the 'USAF had constructed a significant quantity of military facilities' (Campbell, 1983:331).





The initial plan was that these new generation missiles would replace the existing F-111 bombers that had dual capability, but in the end they were to supplement them. The

argument for these missiles deployed in Britain and other Western European countries was that they would significantly reduce the time it took to reach the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Soviet SS-20s technically were not capable of reaching the US. They were only used for justifying the US action. The government issued a publication entitled Cruise missiles – a vital part of the West's Life Insurance which explains why both long-range and medium-range missiles were needed: 'Ultimately we need the most powerful long-range nuclear weapons such as Polaris to convince the Russians that however much force they used they could not win. But if we only had nuclear weapons like Polaris, and were in danger of defeat, we could be faced with two stark choices – surrender or all-out nuclear war. Having smaller medium-range nuclear weapons could give us another choice in those circumstances – allowing us to bring home to the Russians the appalling risks they would run if they pressed us further. The aim of using them would be to persuade the Russian leadership – even at the eleventh hour – to draw back.' (Hudson, 2005:124). Parliamentary debates were also centred on security and the recurring issue of missile control; whether there would be a two-key control and the right of veto over the use of US nuclear weapons based in Great Britain in all circumstances. The Secretary for Defence and the Prime Minister repeatedly stated that the 'understanding relating to the use by the US of certain bases in the UK has often been referred to in the House. It was first reached between Mr Attlee and President Truman in 1951 and was confirmed in 1952 by Mr Churchill and President Truman. The understanding which continues to apply today provides that the use of these bases in an emergency would be a matter for joint decision by Her Majesty's Government in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the time' (*Hansard*, 15 January 1980, Vol.976:709, 20 December 1979, Vol.976:321).

While the British government tried to remind the people about the 'joint decision' made in 1951, John Silkin, spokesman for the Labour Party summarised Britain's position under those circumstances. He said that anybody who was familiar with defence knew that the American President had sole control over the firing of cruise missiles and that the common sense of the British people had come to the same conclusion at a time when the British government itself appeared to be totally unaware of the fact (in Duke, 1987:178). Duke is also of the same opinion after analysing the nature of the agreement. He believes that the US was under no obligation to consult the British Prime Minister before launching a nuclear attack from bases in the UK, and there was no British right of veto (*ibid*). Both Dumbrell (2001:130) and Duke (1987) agree that this period was characterised by anti-

American sentiment and that the US bases were again the focus of attention. This issue seems to be never straightforward, especially what circumstances are considered emergency and by whom, for example during the previous international crisis in 1973 when the American bases in the UK were put on high alert without consulting the British. According to the then Prime Minister, the situation was not considered an emergency regardless how serious it looked.

The missiles were actually deployed at Greenham Common and Molesworth in 1983. According to Duke's analysis, the opposition to cruise missiles was 51% to 41% in 1983 (1987:178). Both Dumbrell (2001:130) and Deer (2004:169) believe that the anti-cruise missile protests in the early 1980s were one of the strongest expressions of hostility to the US bases in Britain. Hudson agrees that the deployment of this new generation of missiles provoked the biggest demonstrations against nuclear weapons in history in which CND played a decisive role (2005:120-138). The number of press reports also suggests that there was an outburst of anti-American sentiment and anti-nuclear activities in the area as well as the revival of CND. The number of its local branches was rapidly increasing to mount an effective 'campaign to stop nuclear cruise missiles being installed at East Anglia. ... The idea is to coordinate protest action being planned by the growing number of anti-missiles groups across the region. There are already more than 20 groups. One of the priorities is to produce a leaflet on the threat of the cruise missiles and make sure it gets into every home in East Anglia' (*Bury Free Press*, 8 February 1980, p.front). These groups worked in many ways on many different issues, stimulating campaigning and raising the issues in the local communities. In Stowmarket, 'more than half' of the inhabitants 'signed a petition, concerned at the prospect of more nuclear missile coming to Suffolk' (ibid). They believed that they 'Still had an education job to do because some people did not realise the serious implications' of deploying nuclear missiles (ibid). Another local activist group organised

'an Aldermaston-style protest march from Bury to Lakenheath [...] on Easter Monday. About 1500 people from all over the region will join the march which is in protest at the proposed siting of nuclear cruise missiles in Britain. Lakenheath has been picked as the destination because of speculation that the missiles are to be sited on the American base

(ibid)

The argument was that the deployment of these missiles enhanced the possibility of a Soviet attack instead of preventing it because these new generation missiles made it possible to have a limited nuclear war, which meant that it would be possible to have a localised war. And this news raised the alarm not only in those where the war was likely to take place but also where the missiles were to be deployed. Although it provoked extreme opposition where it was applicable but on the other hand it meant to avoid or reduce the necessity of using long range missiles between the superpowers with more possibility for total annihilation.

Apart from forming opposing groups against the deployment, there was also a heated debate in the papers among readers discussing the situation. There were many who did not support the opposition to the deployment and disarmament and they disagree with those readers who state that

the time has come when we should ask the Americans politely and firmly to go home. They are either too young or too ignorant of the importance of the Americans being here. Without their huge supplies of munitions of war and many thousands of troops we must have been defeated [...].

(*Bury Free Press*, 1 February 1980, p.4).

Appendix 1 (*Bury Free Press*, 1 February 1980, p.4) is an example of how readers' letters appeared in the paper. They are often placed alongside letters that offer different standpoints (Richardson, 2007:151). These letters are written in response to previous articles in the same paper hence indicating news values. Debates among readers were a common feature. The author of the text uses his own experience to legitimize his argument about why it would be advantageous for the local people if the Americans stayed after all. He clearly supports their present. From the text it is also known that this person belongs to the older generation. Another article on the same page in the same paper argues for the opposite, entitled *We don't want missiles at all* (ibid). The discursive construction of the 'we' group can be seen here, as an argumentative device establishing rapport with other readers (Wodak, 2008:44). On this occasion, there is one argument for the missiles and the Conservatives while the other is against, indicating a balanced view of the situation.

There were also places where the locals actually voted for the deployment of the missiles on their doorsteps. For example, 'the people in Brandon, Suffolk last week voted 604-241 in favour of cruise missiles being sited on their doorstep [underlined originally]

(*Cambridge Daily*, 5 June 1980, p.3). This case is interesting, because Brandon excluded the Americans from the darts league in 1956, which stirred great debate in the papers. The local branch of CND quickly explained that this could only happen because ‘only 19% of the electorate of 4500 turned out to vote on the motion: should the people of Brandon oppose any proposal to site cruise missiles within the Brandon Parish boundary? ... The result would have been different if more people turned up or the time to vote would have been extended (was only a 5 hour slot)’ (ibid). Clearly, the local authorities are blamed for not organising the event properly but one can only guess whether the result would have been different then.

Although there were many people believing that the Americans provided safety and insurance against the Soviets and that their sophisticated aircrafts and modern technology were the best of all, there were unexpected circumstances for which even those hyper-super American jets were not ready for: birds. Some ‘sophisticated American fighter planes from USAF Lakenheath have hit into strange problems – seagulls’. The birds ‘have been causing serious damage by smudging into the landing aircraft’ (*Bury Free Press*, 25 January 1980, p.11). It could have been just an innocent news story, one of many in the papers, but it could have also implied that those American jets in which some people put all their hopes were not that super at all. Strangely, it coincided with the talks about deploying new missiles and modernising the existing stocks, although the quick explanation was that the birds ‘were attracted to a rubbish dump in the village’ and that the ‘council has agreed to close the dump in a bid to solve the problem. In the last 6 months 3 F111 jets had suffered serious damage to their airframes and engines through impact with the birds’ (ibid). This news actually could imply two meanings, satisfying both the supporters for and the opponents of the missiles, proving right the perceptions and misperceptions of the Americans and American technology. One is that the Americans were not good enough and that their technology could not even weather some birds so their presence actually meant more harm than security to the British. The other possibility is that by emphasising the type of jets that got damaged by the birds, the journalists tried to influence and convince the readers that it was now time for modernisation because the current technology was obviously outdated and therefore new missiles were needed to replace the existing F-111s.

Along this line of argument, as presented in the regional press through letters to the editor, there were local people who believed in modern American technology and felt that the American presence provided safety for their country. Obviously they were alarmed that there are

people [who] believe that nuclear disarmament is the answer. And that the Russians would then dismantle their weapons and reduce their fire power. There were pictures shown of Russian troops leaving the East German border - and what happened afterwards? Afghanistan is invaded. ... If we want to continue living in a democratic society, we must have a strong deterrent and be able to defend ourselves if necessary - or we won't have any schools or hospitals to spend money on. This I believe is the case for increasing our defence budget and accepting Cruise missiles in East Anglia

(Bury Free Press, 8 February 1980, p.4)

This reader's letter is again pro- American and relies on the readers' common sense. Here Wodak's discourse-historical approach is applied to argue for the American presence. More precisely, the topos of threat is used that is justified with an evidence of a previous incident. Although disarmament appears to be the safer choice, it is undesirable due to its possible dangerous consequences (2001:75).

Interestingly, NATO's intention to modernise its long range nuclear weapons and the deployment of American Cruise missiles in the UK coincided with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It is therefore not surprising that it re-awakened in people the awful implications of nuclear war.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has led many people to question just what precautions they can take should the worst come to the worst. Nobody knows what to do, no official advice is available. It was government policy to be pretty secretive about the whole thing for fear, presumably, of causing widespread panic among the populace

(Bury Free Press, 22 February 1980, p.6)

Hudson contradicts this news in the papers by saying that indeed there was advice available. Exactly at the same time with the above article in the papers, the BBC current affairs programme Panorama had revealed the realities of British civil defence planning which included the government's Protect and Survive films that had been prepared for showing the public instructions about what to do in the event of nuclear attack. As a result,

public concern did increase enormously. The advice given in the above television programmes was ludicrous as phrased by the general secretary of the CND. Even common sense suggestions like hiding under the stairs for fourteen days in the case of a nuclear attack sounded ridiculous. CND labelled this government action, the television documentary, a 'mass confidence trick, a public fraud of the most heartless kind because it deals in human lives'. (Hudson, 2005:129). Needless to say that one of the significant areas CND was campaigning for was the issue of civil defence.

The following article suggests that there was no real advice from the government: 'Nobody knows what to do, no official advice is available. It was government policy', unlike in other countries such as Switzerland where 'the government pays three-quarters of the cost of building a private nuclear shelter. Here, not only will you have to meet all the cost by yourself, you will have to pay VAT on it too. But Switzerland's policy of neutrality involves a different outlook than that of a frontline NATO country.' It is however believed that 'nobody has built a nuclear shelter yet' (*Bury Free Press*, 22 February 1980, p.6). Campbell argues that Britain, in contrast to Sweden or Switzerland, abandoned a shelter policy as early as the mid 1950s (1983:387). The newspaper article is entitled *What shall we do in the war, daddy?* The conclusion is to 'take the fatalistic view that if nuclear war comes you might as well stand on the nearest hilltop and get it all over with quickly. The choice, as they say, is yours. It would at least, be the ultimate decision of a free man' (*Bury Free Press*, 22 February 1980, p.6).

Comparing the existing academic research, which notes that the anti-cruise missile protests in the early 1980s were one of the strongest expressions of hostility to the US bases in Britain, and the nature of articles and debates in the press, it can be seen that the key topic discussed during this period was how much more dangerous the Americans were. This is not surprising giving the fact that ground-launched cruise missiles were deployed in the area. The most featured genre during this period seems to be the readers' letters, especially in the *Bury Free Press*. Readers try to convince other readers of the acceptability of a point of view and persuade each other to take a certain course of action. There are different modes of persuasion can be seen in these letter. The readers draw on their own experiences, base their argument on logic and evidence or try to impact on one's emotions (Richardson, 2007:159). The choices are disarmament or the increase of defence capabilities, which would mean more cruise missiles and the possibility of their

deployment on the readers' doorstep. As it has already been established, these letters are selected by the editorial staff for publishing and therefore they might reveal the editorial line of the paper. Having examined these readers' letters, the letters with a pro-American argument slightly outnumber the ones with anti-American and anti-cruise missile point of view.

The airstrike against Libya was surrounded by political controversy stemming from the fact that the US requested the use of the American bases in East Anglia for these airstrikes. Hence, it is not surprising the recurring image of the 'dangerous American'. It seems that there was some substance to Hollander's comment about the US being the greatest threat during Reagan's presidency because only the Libyan bombing of all the international crises examined in this thesis is mentioned in the centenary issue of the *Cambridge News* 1888-1988 (1992, cited in Dumbrell, 2001:30): 'The region hit the world's headlines when US war planes from local bases launched an air attack on Libya' (*Looking Back – Cambridge News*, 15 April 1986, p.15). The air strike had both supporters and opponents and caused a heated parliamentary debate. This again highlighted the issue of how much danger the American presence could mean for Britain. According to the Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, the Prime Minister had been 'supine in her support for the American President. She has not acted in the interests of Britain. She has not defended British citizens; she has put them in jeopardy. That is why the Prime Minister's policy has been and will be rejected by the British people' (*Hansard*, 16 April 1986, Vol.95:875). Not surprisingly, the local papers also widely commented on the issue. Concerns were 'expressed at the possibility of a counter attack by Libyan terrorists' (*Cambridge Daily*, 14 October 1986, p.4). Coincidentally, a front page article in the *Suffolk Chronicle* confirmed these concerns as

Oxford air training school banned three Libyan student pilots from flying solo because of publicity about threats against American interests in Britain. A message broadcast on Libyan radio during a phone-in, picked up by the BBC monitoring service, said a revolutionary force was prepared to form a suicide squad to act against the US. The caller signed off with the title 'The revolutionary force at Oxford aerodrome, Britain'

(2 April 1986, p.front)

Although the outcome in this case was positive, it nonetheless provided substance to the locals' fears and opposition against the launching of American air strikes from local bases.

The seriousness of the issue is not only reflected by its front page location, but also by the discussion of the incident at the House of Commons (*Hansard*, 10 April 1986, Vol.95:164).

Campbell believes that the US simply wanted to use Britain as a frontline American base for this purpose (1984:18). Obviously, this again raised the issue of how much influence the UK had regarding the US bases on British soil. The Americans argued that the F-111 bombers based in Britain could mount a far more accurate and less risky operation than the US carrier-based aircraft, stationed off the North African coast, because they were the most advanced tactical bombers in Europe. These aircrafts were the USAF's only long-range tactical combat aircraft that could operate in all weathers, and therefore also at night. They were equipped with such technology that would make them the only aircraft to be able to penetrate enemy airspace almost unhindered. Despite this apparently sound reasoning, Dumbrell doubts that it was a request because for him it was apparent that the White House only intended to exercise its right under Article 51 of the UN Charter (2001:102). According to this Charter, the US had the right to use the bases in Britain for self-defence against targets involved with terrorism. However, the British argument was that the request came with a very short notice and thus it appeared to be a notice rather than a request to use the bases.

According to the *Hansard*, even some Conservative MPs questioned the Prime Minister over whether her decision to allow the US to use British bases for its raid on Libya was right (28 April 1986, Vol.96:271). However, in her speech Margaret Thatcher argued that it was the right decision to support America and believed that the US was exercising its Article 51 right of the UN charter that specifically recognises the right to self-defence.⁹ Jackson also defends this view by saying that the support was sought and

⁹ [...] the Libyan Government have been and are directly involved in promoting terrorist attacks against the US and other Western countries. [...] The UK has itself suffered from Libyan terrorism. The murder of WPC Fletcher in St James's square. There is no doubt, moreover, of the Libyan Government's direct and continuing support for the Provisional IRA, in the form of money and weapons. [...]

Article 51 of the UN charter specifically recognises the right to self-defence. In view of Libya's promotion of terrorism, the failure of peaceful means to deter it and the evidence that further attacks were threatened, I replied to the President that we would support action directed against specific Libyan targets demonstrably involved in the conduct and support of terrorist activities; and, further, that if the Pres concluded that it was necessary, we would agree to the deployment of US aircraft from bases in the UK for that purpose.

[...] He made it clear that use of F111 aircraft from bases in the UK was essential, because by virtue of their special characteristics they would provide the safest means

readily obtained in view of the 1951 agreement and subsequent ratifications (1986:122). According to Steijgel, Thatcher was informed of the American plans at an early stage and agreed with the use of F-111s stationed on British soil (1991:163). The agreement makes provision for the offensive use of US air power from bases on British soil if such offensive use was deemed necessary in the interests of mutual security, and subject to joint decision.

In spite of very strong British opposition, the US flew its planes. Polls showed a widespread disapproval of the support of the raid; more than half of the British public – some 60% of Britons – opposed it (Cull 2008:456, Dumbrell 2001:104). Deer quotes an even higher number of opposition supplied by the MORI poll on 17 April 1986, which showed 70 percent of Britons opposing to US policy (2004:169). Debates in Parliament on the issue were also ‘exceptionally serious’ to use the words of Denis Healey (a Labour MP). This was clearly a very serious situation (*Hansard*, 16 April 1986, Vol.95:1059). The outbursts of another Labour MP, Andrew Faulds, where he called President Reagan the Prime Minister’s ‘cretinous buddy’ and the Prime Minister ‘a cretin’ demonstrates how heated the debate had become (*Hansard*, 15 April 1986, Vol.95:739). Mr Healey concluded that ‘all hon. Members have made a genuine attempt to think through a difficult problem. Very few of the speeches have followed Party lines. It was clear from the debate that hon. Members on both sides of the House abhor international terrorism and want to defeat it’ (ibid:1059). It seems that they all agreed to defeat terrorism, but did not agree the way how to do it regardless their political affiliations. In order to conclude a long debate, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe invited the House to vote in support of the Government. ‘The House having divided: Ayes 206, Noes 325’ (*Hansard*, 16 April 1986, Vol.95:1061). Mr Denis Healey’s indication that Party lines did not seem important in this situation, proved to be right. Tony Banks, a Labour MP, asked the Prime Minister what the number of messages of support and expressions of opposition received at 10 Downing Street in connection with the use of British bases for the US attack on Libya were. The Prime Minister said that ‘up to and including Wednesday 23 April the Government have received about 10,920 representations against, and about 3780 representations for the UK’s support of the US action’ (*Hansard*, 24 April 1986, Vol.96:205). These figures clearly

of achieving particular objectives with the lowest possible risk both of civilian casualties in Libya and of casualties among US service personnel.

[...]

The US, after trying other means, has now sought by limited military action to induce the Libyan regime to desist from terrorism. That is in the British interest. It is why the Government support the US action (*Hansard*, 15 April 1986, Vol.95:729-739).

show how insecure, fearful, helpless and subordinated the British must have felt during this situation full of uncertainties because the raids took place regardless of opposition.

It is not surprising that the debate about the strikes was widely commented on in the press. Firstly, the American presence proved to be dangerous emphasising the vulnerability of Britain and secondly, being a nuisance in everyday life because of their noisy activities. These two themes are recurring and linked to an outside event, in this case the American decision to bomb Libya. The similarity of the articles examined is that the majority are letters to the editor in which readers are trying to convince and make each other understand of the advantages and disadvantages of having the Americans in the area.

However, not everybody opposed these activities. When CND announced that a 'Go home' plane would fly around the base with 2000 people expected to attend the protest at cruise base and 'the Molesworth Action Group has claimed responsibility for a pre-drawn break-in at USAF Mildenhall after which slogans 'Yanks go home' were found daubed on 2 KC-135 refuelling aircraft 'local people opposed to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's demonstration at Molesworth have unveiled their plans for making their feelings known to the protestors' (*The Hunts Post*, 6 February 1986, p.front). This again stresses the ambivalence of popular feelings towards the Americans in the area.

4.2.2. The dangerous driver as local threat

US servicemen were involved in over 1,500 driving accidents every year, up to 100 of which were serious (Campbell, 1984:301), so it is unsurprising that the image of the dangerous and careless American driver appears frequently during the first period under examination. This could have been the result of both drink driving and unfamiliar driving regulations (such as left-hand as opposed to right-hand driving), but in particular the dangers of unfamiliar driving regulations were often highlighted on the front page of a paper, such as the following article entitled *Man with left hand car never saw right hand signal - crash!* (*Bury Free Press*, 5 October 1956, p. front). The article could be seen as an advice and suggestion for those who drive American cars where everything is on the other side, which seem to be the source of the problem. This is why drivers have to be even more careful than usually. If they are not, the only possible outcome is a crash, as indicated by an exclamation mark. The article continues 'Chairman warns drivers of US cars "Take extra care' 'They have to be double careful.'" (ibid). The adjectives heighten the necessity of being more careful and to legitimize the importance of the message the voice is

attributed to an official person, a chairman, although it does not state any other details. The argument is that if extra care is taken when driving in unfamiliar circumstances than these sorts of accidents can be avoided. The existence of the issue and the significance of the article are signalled by its front page display. There are articles in the paper on other pages that simply report motoring accidents with American involvement. The frequency of this type of motoring accidents is alarming especially after the fact that when 'US servicemen come into this country are briefed on English road law' (*The Hunts Post*, 4 October 1956, p.7). However, there is an argument in the article between two voices representing different views on the subject:

View 1: chief inspector says 'I know when they come into England it is the practice for the USAF to brief them in the Road Traffic Acts - and they do it very thoroughly, I can assure you. View 2: chairman says she told USAF officers at court 'I would tell the American authorities that we feel these men are not properly briefed. They may be briefed but they are like children some of them.

(ibid)

The use of direct speech in case of the representation of the differing views claims the faithfulness of what was originally said. The first voice is attributed to a chief inspector that not only represents authority but also uses his own experience to legitimize his argument about how thoroughly the airmen are informed. The use of modality word 'can' indicates the strong opinion of the chief inspector about the briefing. The chief inspector implicitly blames the American airmen for the high number of road accidents due to the fact that they should know it better as they were told everything. The other voice is attributed to a chairman, similarly quoted directly. However, the use of modality words such as would and may by this person indicates that his opinion is not as strong about the briefing as the chief inspector's. This person indicates that the blame should be put on the American authorities instead of the ordinary airmen. However, it does not change the supposition that the Americans are careless drivers. The article is entitled *American servicemen and our road laws*. Here, the article establishes a rapport between the reader and the article by the construction of the 'we' group and so assumes a difference between the two social groups represented in the title (Wodak, 2008:44).

Analysing the way news is produced and the relationship between the source and the journalist, Negrine suggests that public opinion can be orchestrated by the powerful for political and social purposes (1994:127). The press has the ability to exaggerate and amplify a threat by the frequent reporting of an incident, which in this case were driving

offences that seemed to be due to the Americans' careless attitude. At the same time, evidence in the newspapers indicates that there seemed to be an explanation of why these accidents could happen. Appendix 2 shows an example of 'dangerous driving' reporting in the local news from 1956. Such accident reports were not only numerous at this period but also had lengthy narratives to highlight the issue's newsworthiness.

Negrine argues that opinion manipulation is not necessarily a one way process, from top to bottom. It is also possible, given the nature of the British press where communication is multi-directional, that it is from bottom to top; the frequency of these articles might reflect public concerns (ibid). On the other hand, Fairclough argues that existing power-holders' opinion is reflected in the papers, which in this case could be local businessmen or editors of the local papers (1995a:22). However, the implications are that most accidents resulted from the fact that the American officials had not done their job properly in informing the airmen about local customs, culture, regulations or laws. Indeed, the message in the local papers seems to be that do not blame the airmen who are stationed in your vicinity but the officials elsewhere.

The other frequently discussed topic within this theme in the press during the same period relates to insurance policies and the American drivers. Another suggestion to the American authorities was that they **'SHOULD BRIEF THEIR PERSONNEL ABOUT ENGLISH LAW IN CONNECTION WITH THIRD PARTY INSURANCE WHEN DRIVING VEHICLES'** [capital and emphasis in original] (*Cambridge Daily*, 28 September 1956, p.15). (Appendix 3) The importance of this message is shown by the formatting of the text, written in bold capital letters. Courts frequently repeated their opinion that they **'feel these men are not properly briefed'** [emphasis in original] and that it was 'rather mean for them to be in a strange country and punished for things they do not understand' (ibid). This article is a clear example of the press trying to enhance the presence of the American airmen. The indication again is that the American authorities are not doing their job properly and the blame is put on the servicemen who are located in the area. The article is entitled **'TELL AMERICANS MORE ABOUT ENGLISH LAW'** [capital and emphasis in original]. The title is in imperative mode and direct speech is used to indicate that what was actually said is reproduced here (Fairclough, 2003:40). Although the image constructed here is negative, the article argues for enhanced training of the US military with the aim of enhanced integration rather than rejection and exclusion.

The American drivers were often fined for speeding and dangerous driving. Frequent phrases in the papers were 'American's speed was dangerous' by, for example the *Cambridge Daily*, 14 September 1956 and *Suffolk Chronicle*, 10 August 1956, or 'US driver was disqualified' *ibid*, 10 August 1956, *The Hunts Post*, 25 October 1956 or 'American fined for driving without due care and attention and without third-Party insurance' *The Hunts Post*, 27 September 1956, *Suffolk Chronicle*, 31 August 1956.

Occasionally, the Americans were praised for honesty resulting in a lesser fine just for giving 'evidence in a very honest fashion' (*Cambridge Daily*, 14 September 1956, p.17). Using the adjective 'honest' implies positive valuation of the personality of the American driver. Honest is a positive word and implies that Americans can be good people. Here the juxtaposition of the dangerous American driver and the good American person can be seen (Fairclough, 2003:182). The large number of articles on driving offences in the papers demonstrates that the scope of this problem was indeed considerable. The regularity of these traffic incidents, the accidents, drink-driving and convictions for speeding, also suggest safety hazard for the locals and thus negatively affecting the American's relationship with the local community.

In 1962 drink-driving was a recurring theme. For example, the *Bury Free Press* reports *Two US airmen fined on careless driving charges* (26 October 1962, pg.10) or *Alleged to have hit cyclist with car. DRINK CHARGE AGAINST US SERVICEMAN* [capital in original] in the *Cambridge Daily* (18 October 1962, pg.9). The use of capital letters makes the article more eye-catching and draws attention to the fact that the American presence is dangerous for the local population. As an ironic solution to the recurring problem of drink-driving the Americans were told to drink 'coca cola' (*Cambridge Daily*, 17 October 1962, p.13) next time referring to the fact that it is an American national drink.

Occasional reports about driving offences continue in the next periods as well, although less frequently, such as *US serviceman hurt in crash on the A1* (*Hunts Post*, 18 October 1973, pg.5), *Airman jailed for driving offence* (*Bury Free Press*, 1 February 1980, pg.33), or *Court fines serviceman* (*ibid*, 27 March 1986, pg.6). Thus, evidence suggests that the image of the dangerous American driver as local threat remains throughout the period but its importance significantly reduces. Interestingly, as the image of the dangerous

driver as local threat loses its newsworthiness, the image of the national threat emerges in its place.

4.2. 3. The nuisance American

Apart from the image of the dangerous and careless American, the image of the nuisance American also belongs to this group of negative images. It was because the arrival of the enormous number of American servicemen in Britain, as discussed extensively by Duke (1987), Reynolds (1995), Bowyer (1979) etc, raised serious concerns. The image of the 'nuisance American' reflects the strain their huge number put on the British infrastructure. The problems surrounding the housing issue seem to be so significant that it is frequently discussed in the press. The high demand for rented accommodation had an effect on the asking prices as well which was not favourably received among those local people who were struggling to find appropriate accommodation. Thus, the sudden increase of American personnel in the area had considerably affected the housing market and the pressure they placed on it was enormous, as press reports suggested. The USAF public relations committee made huge efforts to keep things smooth between hosts and tenants. Most of the problems occurred when newly-arrived families rented or bought accommodation off base. Since the Americans were not entirely familiar with the local circumstances the landlords sometimes took advantage of the situation. The standard of accommodation was not always up to standard and prices were high. To avoid any friction between the locals and the servicemen, the Anglo-American Relations Committee had initiated the appointment of a housing officer that each base should have. The *Cambridge Daily* press reported that

The appointment of a British Civilian Housing officer by the American Service Authorities, to be a link between them and the landlords of properties rented by the Servicemen, has just been established at Lakenheath, on the initiative of the Bury Anglo-American Relations Committee. Shepherds Grove already has its own Housing officer

(21 September 1956, p.8).

The Anglo-American Relations Committee obviously had noted the problem with high rents for unacceptable quality and had found a solution that would raise letting on to a higher level. It would therefore be the duty of the 'housing officer - a local man – to act as a link with landlords of properties rented by servicemen, to sort out rent, inventory and

final leave. A register of properties available will be maintained' (*Bury Free Press*, 21 September 1956, p.14). It would help the Americans and eventually the landlords and most importantly, would help the good relations. Since the issue of housing shortages appeared to be a nuisance for the British public, the British government worked hard together with the Americans on solutions.

The press reports suggest that the perception of the Americans as being a nuisance is a recurring image. At the time of the October War in 1973 the bases, not only in the UK but also worldwide, stood on nuclear alert. According to Jackson, this high state of readiness came as something of a surprise to the 3rd air force in Britain (1986:102). Married servicemen stationed around the various US bases were sent home for their battle kit and told to return immediately. Preparations for war were made everywhere and fully armed fighters were continuously in the air. Large numbers of aircraft were ready to go into action within minutes of the order being given. Considering the seriousness of the situation, there was no article found in the local newspapers regarding the alert and *The Manchester Guardian* reported that 'there have been no signs of unusual activity at any of the principal bases in Britain. At the bases, the aircraft appear to be flying only normal schedule of training missions. Officially, the USAF will not comment on possible aircraft movements' (*Manchester Guardian*, 17 October 1973, p.2).

However, extra activities on the bases attracted complaints from the local population. Once again, aircraft noise was considered an everyday problem in the local area with which they had to learn to live with. Local people found the Americans noisy, disturbing and inconsiderate which was expressed in the local press:

Noise from landing aircraft is bad enough. I'm prepared to make allowances for that, and I can even put up with the picture on by TV flicking and jumping about, as I realise that the aircraft have to land somewhere, if not over my house, then over somebody's else. I fail to see, though, why the American air force should wait until half past midnight before revving the aircraft to such a pitch that it's impossible to talk over, or why they should start again at 5am some mornings. Could it be that the engineers on night duty find the peace and quiet hard to get used to [...] If this is the case, my advice to them is to try a little harder. It is possible to get used to quietness. I did once and could again with their help.

(*Bury Free Press*, 5 October 1973, p.19)

However, on second glance this article argues for tolerance, acceptance and cooperation. It is entitled *Midnight decibel are far too much* and it is from the readers' letters section. The adjective midnight indicates that there is a daytime issue as well, which is just acceptable. Although negative evaluation is used to describe the situations, the author of the article argues for the acceptance of the noise generated by the American aircrafts. The use of modality indicates the commitment on the author's behalf (Wodak, 2008:44).

By 1965 the USAF presence in the UK had diminished appreciably from its peak in the 1950s. Operation 'Freloc' turned the situation around, when the French president De Gaulle announced that France was going to withdraw from the military structures of NATO in 1966 and that all NATO troops must be out of France in about a year. To the USAF in Paris this decision came as a complete surprise and meant the greatest base loss to the US. The operation involved the clearance of nine air bases and 77 other military installations and the relocation of 33,000 USAF personnel and their families. They were relocated in Germany and the UK, which indicated the importance of the UK as an American military base complex. As a result, USAF numbers in the UK increased considerably again, an addition of eight thousand airmen to the 3rd Air Force, and so the US army gained again a significant presence in the UK. The 3rd air force was the largest single command in Britain claiming two thirds of the airmen stationed here.

This leads to the discussion of housing issues of the period. The locals complained about the lack of accommodation and they believe, as a front page article confirms that 'locals are priced out of housing', blaming the American servicemen for the problem:

Some housing problems in the Huntingdon area are caused by American personnel. Local young people are priced out of private housing [...]. Council members had been invited to a working luncheon at USAF Alconbury to discuss noisy Phantom aircraft and housing. [...] individuals bought houses specifically to let them to American personnel.

(*The Hunts Post*, 11 October 1973, p.front)

This article also raises the importance of Anglo-American relations. The headline indicates that the housing issue affects the whole local community, while the rest of the text specifies the part of society that has adversely been affected by the housing problem. The front page display, however, suggests the importance of positive impact of the American presence on local businesses, which is in line with Conservative values (Fairclough, 2003).

The next article is concerned with the same issue but further evaluates the American presence and clearly highlights the business opportunity provided by the deployment of a significant number of American airmen in the area. The words used are obviously business related: investors, profits:

Young people in Huntingdon are being priced out of the housing market by American airmen [...]. In a bitter attack on the presence of USAF servicemen in the area the Councillor blamed them for many of the town's housing problems. A Labour councillor said he would boycott a meeting at nearby USAF Alconbury to talk about their housing problems. He said the borough council would do better to look at the housing problems of people in the borough rather than the Americans. [...] Investors buy houses to house American personnel at fantastic profits.

(Cambridge Daily, 9 October 1973, p.11)

At the time of the Libya bombing there were reports in the local papers about plans to build new houses for American personnel due to expansion of Alconbury and Molesworth bases: 'USAF signed a contract under which the homes will be built by a British firm and then leased to American personnel' (ibid, 6 February 1986). The article was cleverly constructed because of its two-fold implications. Firstly, it is an undeniable fact that the expansion of these American bases would naturally evoke mixed reactions among the locals. Therefore, the disadvantage of the situation is counterbalanced by its advantage within the same sentence. The expansion could indeed mean increasing aircraft noise and more American personnel in the area as well as more driving offences. However, it also implies a boost to the local economy by the fact that a local firm is getting the building contract. The mixed feelings of the local population about the Americans were again expressed through debates in the papers:

Sir, may I beg space to refer to a letter written about aircraft noise. The stations were operating long before the houses were built under the flight paths, so people knew what to expect before moving in. As for people who cry 'Yanks go home', have they considered what the county of Cambridgeshire and indeed other parts of the country would suffer should they take heed and go home. The unemployment figure would go sky high and the financial loss.

(The Hunts Post, 9 October 1986, p.9)

Campbell also defends the presence of the US bases by saying, in line with the above articles, that they indeed still contribute to the local economy in the 1980s because they provide employment and income for local contractors and builders as well as help the local

tradesmen (1984:303). A debate in Parliament on US personnel and equipment clearly highlights the advantage of having the Americans in Britain. A Conservative MP, Gerald Howarth, asked the Secretary of State for Defence to estimate the cost to the UK taxpayer of providing the equivalent defence capability were the US to withdraw all American personnel and equipment from its bases within the UK. His answer was that 'the cost would be enormous. I regret that an actual estimate on the basis requested by my hon. Friend could be provided only at disproportionate cost' (*Hansard*, 25 April 1986, Vol.96:262).

Still, noise generated by the Americans through various activities, as discussed by Duke, tended to cause a considerable problem which in a way was counterbalanced by their economic value to the local communities (1987:112). These various activities included massive runway buildings and expansion of the bases which caused local grievance as houses and pubs were levelled, roads were closed, and farmers dispossessed. The expansion of the bases made the locals fear the aircraft noise. As a result, feelings sometimes ran high enough for American servicemen to be advised to stay inside their bases. Campbell refers to the views of some of the local farmers to demonstrate the mixed feelings of all these developments (1984:40). Their fields ended at the fence of one of the largest atom bomb stores in Europe, but they were more concerned that the Air Ministry might requisite some further acres of barley fields than about the weight of nuclear bombs planted in earth covered 'igloos' where the barley stopped growing. Campbell quotes the farmer 'I realise fully, like everyone else, why they are here – and I am glad that they are' (*ibid*). A debate in the local paper concerning the news of the closure of American bases ensued, and this discussion between a Labour and a Conservative councillor highlights the mixed reactions people could have. This article is a perfect example of the disagreement of these two political parties on the stationing of the American forces in the area. While the Labour councillor supported the closing down of all nuclear bases in the area and the country, the Conservative councillor expressed strong support for the presence of the Americans due to their essential contribution to the local economies and accusing the Labour councillor of 'paying little attention to local people' (*The Hunts Post*, 9 October 1986, p. not visible). As evidence suggests, despite all the odds, there were always people who supported the presence of the American personnel. There were many grievances regarding their presence but advantages somehow outshone the disadvantages.

4.3. The American ‘friend’

This section discusses the American ‘friend’ theme, most precisely the advantage of the American friend, the socialiser American, the successful socialiser and the charitable friend topics. The most discussed topic is the advantage of the American friend and the most articles are from the *Bury Free Press*, which is circulated near the major US airbases Mildenhall and Lakenheath.

Overview of sources:

Images	Advantages of the American friend	The friendly American	The successful socialiser	The charitable friend	Total
Sources					
C N	5	0	6	0	11
B F P	10	6	8	4	28
H P	3	4	0	2	9
S M	4	6	6	4	20
E A D T	0	1	0	1	2
Total	22	17	20	11	70

4.3.1. Advantages of the American friend

A large number of articles emphasise the advantages of having the Americans ‘over-here’ in 1956. Although the Queen’s speech indicates in which direction the attitude towards the Americans should go by stating that ‘[My Government] will continue to work in close accord with the United States of America’ (*Hansard*, 9 June 1955, Vol.542:41), the initial perceptions of the Americans do not seem to be the friendliest ones. There was still room to improve the relationship and it was also important to keep it that way. This could therefore be the real reason behind the setting up of the so-called Anglo-American Committee in relations to the American bases. The role of the Anglo-American Relations Committee was to foster relations between the American bases and the local population in

order to improve the existing stereotypical images of the Americans, the legacy of their previous stationing. The committee organised a wide variety of functions from fetes, open days, fundraising events, and carnivals to Christmas dinners for the elderly or parties for children. The aim was to further good relationship between the two parties but in reality the Committee's role was to avoid the fanning the flames of anti-American feelings. Apart from organising social events it was the duty of the Committee to offer some explanation of the political background or highlight the economical advantages not only to the country as a whole but breaking down to the local community and the individual level such as employment. It was important to explain the reason behind the stationing of the USAF again in the area in such numbers to prevent the questioning of the American presence at local level. All this was food for the local press and financial benefit for the region through employment, fundraising and social events. Debates in Parliament often centred on such issues as the costs of maintaining the American bases in the area for the British taxpayer, their future in Britain, or the importance of maintaining friendly relations with the US (*Hansard*, 1 November 1955, Vol.545:104, 20 December 1955, Vol.547:1841, 6 March 1956, Vol.549:1925, 25 July 1956, Vol.557:48). It was always the same scenario that Members of the Opposition questioned whether it was an advantage of having the Americans in Britain and what dangers their presence had for the country. The government stance's remained the same as before the Suez crisis (*Hansard*, 18 December 1956, Vol.562:1094, 1099, 9 April 1957, Vol.568:963, 26 June 1957, Vol.572:191, 31 October 1957, Vol.575:85). Also, a year after the Suez crisis, the Queen was still of the same opinion as before: 'I was very happy to pay, at President Eisenhower's invitation, a second visit to the US' – the first visit was before the crisis – '[...] Everywhere I received a most warm and friendly welcome. My visit has further convinced Me that the ties which bind our peoples together are strong and enduring [...]' (*Hansard*, 1 November 1957, Vol.575:531).

A significant example to justify the American presence to the local communities is provided by 'a community relations officer at the American occupied Lakenheath airbase' whose speech to the Bury St Edmunds Rotary Club in July 1956 is worth analysing in some detail, entitled *Keep Anglo-American friendship flag flying* (*Bury Free Press*, 27 July 1956, p.2). The title is a summary of the whole concept that seems to characterise the 1956 period. The imperative mode of the title adds emphasis to this concept. The argument is that this concept would be beneficial for both social actors, the Americans and the local

people. The feeling here was that Americans were in Britain for a good reason and that should be understood and accepted by everybody. The political background of their stationing in this area is 'as members of NATO in which desperate necessity banded 14 nations together for their survival. [...] Europe's security and strength lay with the rest of the world and above all with the Commonwealth and America' (*Bury Free Press*, 27 July 1956, p.2). Likewise, David Mosler, who analyses the military dimensions of US hegemony, affirms the strength of the US forces and explains why he believes that they are superior (2000:20-27). The US spends as much on their military as the next ten largest military-spending countries combined (ibid). They operate not by quantity but by quality, strategy and high technology and their forces have a higher readiness than any other forces in the world (ibid). The US pilots conduct training missions at an average of 220 hours per year while the NATO average is 170 hours and others often train 50 or less hours (ibid). Comparing these figures Mosler concludes that the American pilots are far better flying the full spectrum of air missions and thus better prepared to win air battles decisively (ibid). Thus, both local officials through the press and Mosler seem to justify the stationing of the American forces on British soil by using simple facts and figures.

Articles in the local papers suggest that apart from the political and military dimensions there were also economic advantages of having the Americans here. In post-war Britain it seemed beneficial and essential to support the stationing of the American forces due to the country's economic situation. 'Britain's dollar collections from US forces stationed here amounted to about 1/5 of the total exports to the dollar area or more than the tourist trade brought here. They also brought much employment to the area where they were based', a fact that could not be neglected (*Bury Free Press*, 27 July 1956, p.2). It was a common practice for the bases to employ civilian employees who lived locally. These sorts of articles advocate the stationing of the American forces in the area. It is therefore in contrast with the existing anti-American sentiment that the presence of the American forces would most likely destroy local economies.

As the above portrayals suggest, it was essential that every effort was made to establish and keep the good relations between the two nations because 'Americans were neither brothers nor foreigners; common history demanded that they left with happy memories' (ibid). The press played an important role in channelling to the readers the impressions of those local groups, such as the Anglo-American Relations Committee or the

Rotary Club who had contacts with the bases and most likely had high standings in the community, given the well-known fact that its members were part of the local business community. Similarly, the Suffolk Chronicle reports about an *Anglo-American discussion Panel at Bentwaters*:

It took place at the library of the USAF base Bentwaters on the responsibility of the press. It was part of a series arranged by the base librarian to further Anglo-American relations. Education, making use of leisure time and likes and dislikes about England and the US have already been discussed by Anglo-American panels.

(10 August 1956, p.2)

The title again draws attention to the importance of furthering Anglo-American relations and to how much effort was made. The article also emphasises the important role of the press in constructing favourable images of the Americans. Promoting Anglo-American relations was not only a one-sided attempt. As the following article suggests, the Americans also tried to make every effort for the common goal:

20 Suffolk Clergymen spent a day at the USAF Bentwaters. The visit, an annual event, was made on invitation by the Wing chaplain. He says 'This is a custom which our forces have in all their stations overseas. We do it at home, and it is good way of promoting Anglo-American relations. We send invitations to clergymen whose parishes are around this area and invite them over to have a look round. They visited base chapel in the morning which caters for 3 denominations, protestants, catholics and jews. They saw how the chapel could be adapted in a very short time for the services of the different faiths.

(ibid, 2 November 1956, p.4)

It was essential that people did not dislike the American servicemen and that people had learnt about each other, especially after Prime Minister Anthony Eden announced that

... military bases will continue to be made available in Great Britain for the US forces for as long as the mutual interests of Great Britain and the USA so require, and that every facility will continue to be given to the US Army and Air Force authorities so that their forces will have the amenities and be treated with the courtesy due to the representatives of a great ally

(*Hansard*, 18 December 1956, Vol.562:1099).

This article could be seen as an example of governmental discourse at the House of Commons, where the Conservative government makes it clear the importance of 'keeping the Anglo-American friendship flag flying' (*Bury Free Press*, 27 July 1956, p.2).

Praising the job of the Anglo-American Relations Committee was part of the process in the relationship building. The Rotarians of the Bury St Edmunds Club reported ‘what a splendid job the community relations officers were doing by helping to bring together two diverse and yet fundamentally closely related people’ and thus justifying the importance of their role in the community (ibid). The high importance of this story is due to the fact that all participants benefited from it. The Rotary Club probably expected financial advantages from contacts with the US military bases or even the US in general. The US wanted its troops to be accepted by the local community as well as its political and economic influence. The local press received stories to write about and, perhaps, had a financial relationship with Rotary members given the nature of both the Club and the local press. Emphasising the role of this Committee also supports the work of such academics as Dobson (1996), Pells (1997) or Frost and Shea (1986) on Anglo-American cultural diversity and the importance of the shared language implying that the American forces were not totally strangers after all. As such, promoting Anglo-American relations in this sense seems explicit to the first period examined. However, there was one more article found regarding this topic in 1973. This article could be seen as a reminder of ‘keeping the Anglo-American friendship flag flying’, entitled *Golden key gift will help lock Anglo-American links* (*Bury Free Press*, 12 October 1973, p.7). The word ‘help’ suggests that it is assumed that this link is still desirable.

4.3.2. The friendly American

The image of the ‘over-sexed’ American is another stereotyping inherited from the war period. The number of articles in 1956 that cover the issue of actual personal contact and socialising between the local people and the American airmen suggests the topic’s importance. The following articles would imply that the Americans were actually lonely and isolated rather than ‘over-sexed’. However, the articles do not unanimously agree and there seems to be a debate going on. The newspapers cover the welcoming efforts of the Anglo-American Relations Committee, the part it played on the assistance of the settlement of newly stationed airmen. It seemed important to show British hospitality towards the newcomers. There are many articles emphasising the importance of the role played by the wives of these servicemen in exchanging information between the two

nations. On one hand, an article in *The Hunts Post*, for example, praises these women for their efforts in promoting intercultural relations:

At the Anglo - American Relations Committee it was acknowledged the big part the Women's Voluntary Service plays in helping American Servicemen's families to settle down in this country. Members visited families when they arrived and answered 101 questions. Provided canteen with recreational facilities where American personnel could get away from life on the base. Provided facilities for American wives to meet English servicemen's wives at monthly luncheon meetings and coffee parties had been arranged at various places. And Americans were returning the hospitality. Their wives club invited English women to luncheons and meetings on the base. It was a great success during the past year. [...]

(4 October 1956, p.7)

On the other hand, another article criticizes the same Committee for not doing their job properly for simply overlooking those servicemen who did not have a partner.

While American servicemen husbands and their families have been welcomed into English homes and have made many friends, American bachelor officers have been left out in the cold [...] There are people who have been here for 3 years and never have never set foot inside an English home. Alconbury had the same problem.

(ibid)

This criticism was quickly justified. Although the bases were rather self-sufficient and therefore the airmen did not have the need to go out to the local community, they also should have made the effort to approach the local people and establish and further the relationship between the two communities: '... going to people's homes was not what was wanted. The idea had been that American personnel should join local organisations in which they would meet people who had the same interests and would invite them home' (ibid).

It is worth pointing out the method of press coverage of this issue. The article that praises the good work of the committee appears only on page 7 while the criticism is a front page article entitled 'American bachelor officers left out in the cold?' The implication can be two fold; one is that British hospitality is not good enough and inclined to differentiate between married and single airmen for the simple reason that singletons could imply danger to traditional British society due to their original misperception. The other possibility is, following the previous supposition that it meant to be a warning by the press about the number of single airmen out there who again, could be dangerous. Reviewing the

situation, the message suggested is: do not feel sorry for the lonely airmen because they are the only ones who could be blamed for their loneliness because they are not doing their job properly despite that 'before a US serviceman was landed here he was submerged in booklets, pamphlets, etc. telling him what and what not to do' (*Bury Free Press*, 27 July 1956, p.2).

In addition, the American airmen – at least the majority- also tried to prove that they were not the initially stereotyped 'over-sexed' GIs any more. They seemed to be eager to prove that, although wearing a uniform, they were nice guys. Good community relations seemed to be important to them and they were willing to prove that. On one hand, the British community implied that the airmen could be dangerous. On the other hand, local women also proved to be a real danger to the airmen. However, this, and all related problems such as health issues, had been considerably reduced by the appointment of a senior serviceman whose duty was to coordinate welfare activities and organise local dances where the airmen would meet local girls under supervision. Reynolds also suggests that the 'over-sexed' stereotyping could not really be applied because most GIs in 1950s Britain were not single or at least alone, but brought their families with them (1995:436). Logically, the married servicemen posed fewer disciplinary problems than their wartime counterpart. Reynolds believes that this situation accentuated the isolationism and self-sufficiency of the American bases (*ibid*). Campbell agrees that most US personnel did not need to notice which country they were in because inside the big bases they had everything from currency and commodities to living and leisure, exclusively all American (1984:233). As a result, total cultural isolation could be achieved with the aid of imports of all kinds (*ibid*). Campbell's theory therefore also suggests that because of their situation the 'over-sexed' image is not so believable any more. The examination of the articles channels a mixture of feelings on behalf of the local population towards the American airmen regarding their socializing opportunities and abilities. On one hand, the local population was willing to help the airmen but on the other hand they felt that the Americans posed a threat for their local community resulting in an ambiguous message towards the forces.

The following article slightly contradicts Reynold's study that most GIs in 1950s Britain were family men. However, it supports the idea of self-sufficiency by saying that the GIs seldom left the bases due to the fact that they had everything there – apart from the nice girls. Therefore, there had to be enough single servicemen too. There could not be any

complaints or questions about the organisational skills, attitude and intentions of the Americans when it came to organising social events involving girls. An announcement of such event, for example, called for 50 nice girls with a detailed programme:

American servicemen at Shepherds's Grove looking for girls, all over 17, as dancing partners. And they must be nice! The base Service Club have had difficulty in finding Bury girls for club dances and so several dances have had to be cancelled. The Service Club for many of the airman is home from home. They seldom go off base. It is a place where they can meet friends, talk, read, play games etc. And many would like a 'real nice English girl' as a friend.

Everybody happy

Everything is done to make the girls happy when they arrive. Band, refreshments - no liquor is served - transport free of charge.

And there is a note for dubious mothers: Each girl has to provide two references other than her members of her family and while she is at base she is not allowed outside the Service Club building.

Good conduct is ensured by leaders on the transport buses.

Mother, too

If mother is still not satisfied, she is invited too! [italic and emphasis in original]

(*Bury Free Press*, 14 September 1956, p.front)

This front-page article is cleverly constructed, knowing the austerity of the traditional British society and its view of American popular culture and the perceptions of the airmen and their crude stereotyping. A range of linguistic features is used, such as different modes of sentence, italicized subtitles and emphasis in order to achieve the optimal effect on the reader. The choice of wording also helps break down the 'over-sexed' image of the American servicemen: the girls must be old enough, they are only wanted as dancing partners or friends and the servicemen are not drunkards as the implicit assumptions of the text would suggest. The title *GIs looking for 50 girls – but they must be nice!* clearly summarises the perceptions of the American soldiers by the local population. Interestingly, the term GI is used here, that is preloaded with presuppositions and assumptions. This is one of the rare occasions when this particular term is used in this study, as usually the USAF airmen are generalized as Americans, American, US airmen, US servicemen or similar. The words in the title are probably very carefully selected and given its front page position in the paper guarantee that the whole article would be read. The construction of

this article clearly shows the aim to break down the stereotypical image of the over-sexed GIs inherited from the previous period. This sort of representation shows how much stereotyping can constrain the meanings people attach to them (Fairclough, 2001). As with the previous topic, this also seems to be specific to the 1956 period.

4.3.3. The successful socialiser

Figures show that ‘individuals played a paramount part in establishing friendship. Americans are certainly doing their bit to cement the ties between us because there are many at the rate of 200 a month’ (*Bury Free Press*, 27 July 1956, p.2). Duke agrees that good intentions of the Americans seem to have paid off by the rate of marriages between local girls and American servicemen because one out of every seven single airmen married an English girl which was good for the special relationship (1987:114). The media coverage of weddings also proved that Anglo-American relations could work out, at least on a personal level. Every regional paper frequently report wedding announcements in 1956, such as ‘Cambridge bride and US groom’ (*Cambridge Daily News*, 6 and 11 September 1956), ‘Cherry Hinton bride and US groom’ (ibid, 8 November 1956), ‘USAF groom and local bride’ (*Suffolk Chronicle*, 7 and 14 September 1956). The fact that an American airman was getting married to a local girl seemed to be important and not the persons themselves. The announcement of a baby of the ‘then the youngest GI bride, married in 1955 April, now the youngest GI mother’ indicates that perhaps the perceptions of GIs were not always correct (*Bury Free Press*, 3 August 1956, p.3). This is the other rare occasion for the use of the term GI and, as before, the aim is to break down an existing stereotypical image linked to this term. For this reason, this is important news to publish because it seemed to be general knowledge that American servicemen did not take responsibility for their ‘overseas experiments and accidents’. The fact that the discussion of the topic reached parliamentary levels indicates its seriousness. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was asked by a Labour MP what action had been taken to obtain financial aid from the US Government for the support of illegitimate children in Britain whose fathers were American Service men. His answer was that there was no possibility of obtaining financial aid from the US Government (*Hansard*, 19 December 1955, Vol.547:244). As the response indicates, this was a sensitive topic.

The Americans were also willing to adjust and accept local customs which were the basis of good relations and integration, regardless how strange it could be, for example

when the 'best man kisses the bride'. He is 'nicely posed for some rough stuff - but there is a smile on the face of the bridegroom who is from the USAF while the best man, keeping to custom, kisses the bride' (*Bury Free Press*, 5 October 1956, p.3).

Thus, evidence presented suggests that the efforts of the Anglo-American Relations Committee to bring together the servicemen and the local population and the servicemen's efforts to establish relationships had a successful outcome on many occasions. These weddings also demonstrate that the servicemen had good intentions and that they had successfully convinced the sceptical mothers about that. It shows respect for family values and the local girls, as well as implying that the servicemen have been accepted by the British families. All these articles attempt to change the rude stereotyping of the American servicemen as being over-sexed, womanizing or posing a threat especially for women. Duke notes that marriages were still at a high number between the locals and the air men in the 1960s but the papers do not seem to mention weddings from this period onwards (1987:114). The reason for this is perhaps that the novelty of being the Americans in Britain and marrying local girls is not a novelty any more.

4.3.4. The charitable friend

Another theme that emerges from the newspapers is the charitable friend, the well meaning and good hearted American. The impression is that the Americans were willing to help the local communities wherever they could. These articles picture the Americans as good willed, caring and child loving. It again proves the importance of keeping good relations with the host people. Fundraising is one of the most common topics in the press and it seems that the Americans keep repeating this good practice to help children as the following article proves:

In accordance with their practice in recent years American Servicemen at Wethersfield will this Christmas again be raising funds to provide presents for children in 24 children's homes in Essex [...]. A goal of about £700 is set to provide gifts for an estimated 700 British children. For children of Base personnel a large Christmas Party, similar to that held last year is planned. Presents will be delivered by men of Wing units

(*Suffolk Chronicle*, 14 September 1956, p.6).

Writing about such events the press shows the locals that the Americans can be good and that there are many positive experiences with the Americans that prove this perception. Figures are often used for rhetoric. The argumentation strategy here is to highlight the usefulness of the American presence and prove that it is to the advantage of the local population. Announcing the results of such fundraising events therefore is important. Like for the children's home 'as a result of past projects on the Base, more than 2100 children have received about 6300 gifts purchased from contributions amounting to more than £2670' (*Suffolk Chronicle*, 14 September 1956, p.6). Playing Santa Claus also proved popular:

American servicemen of the 20th Fighter bomber wing will play Santa Claus to more than 800 British children in 29 charitable homes in Essex and Suffolk this Christmas. Wives of men at both bases will pack and label the presents, most of which are being purchased on special shopping expeditions

(*Suffolk Chronicle*, 9 November 1956, p.front).

These projects seem to involve many participants and contributors showing everybody's willingness to provide good memories of these events. Apart from fundraising events for children or the elderly, the bases started organising so-called open days when the locals were free to visit the bases so they get an insight how the servicemen lived.

Molesworth and Alconbury USAF bases open their gates for public carnivals and fetes. The fete at Molesworth will be under cover if there is rain. At Alconbury there will be a two-day carnival to help raise £27000 which the US Third Force has undertaken to raise for the organ of St Clement Dane Church, London'

(*The Hunts Post*, 23 August 1956, p.front).

These types of articles project the Americans as resourceful and selfless. The Americans were also willing to help in other circumstances, for example when there was a 'fire at a furniture store. USAF engine helps in Peterborough. Among the 12 fire engines and 70 firemen was a brigade from USAF Alconbury', as mentioned in a national paper, *The Manchester Guardian* (23 August 1956, p.12). Or, a 'natural disaster such as a freak whirlwind at Lakenheath that caused more damage in 15 second than the longest storm in history. A 10-ton crane from USAF Lakenheath helped to clear a tree from top of a house' (*Bury Free Press*, 14 September 1956, p.front).

Despite praising the Americans for their good will and selflessness there were also many people who just could not accept their presence. The following article is a reader's letter where the writer of the article is arguing for the usefulness of the American presence based on personal experience. Since the Americans seemed to be willing to lend a helping hand when needed to the local community a reader who experienced this from first hand is ready to defend their stationing:

[...] I was responsible for persuading the personnel services at Lakenheath to provide an amplifier for our football fete at Barton Mills, and I can only say that none could have had more cooperation from our American friends. Nothing was too much trouble for them and if the two service men who operated that equipment are typical of the Americans based here then we are proud to have them with us. But for people to write letters creating the impression they are not wanted is nothing short of scandalous

(*Bury Free Press*, 7 September 1956, p.5)

This theme suggests again that the initial stereotyping of the Americans was not always true and local communities could indeed benefit from the stationing of the American airmen in Britain. The Americans being selfless is an image that is not frequently included in governmental discourse or publicized at national papers. This image is produced by local papers that have good knowledge of local affairs. At the beginning of the Afghanistan war the image of the 'charitable American' returns. The *Hunts Post* reports that an 'Old people's home Christmas dinner was the courtesy of USAF with wine and sherry. (27 December 1979, p.9).

Despite the controversy surrounding the Libya bombing, there was also news about American sport and fundraising events organised for the local population. Portraying the Americans as being sports loving people and willing to help good causes is recurring and these images seem to remain the same as during previous periods. For example, 'personnel from the USAF, RAF Alconbury have donated £3000 to Hinchingsbrooke hospital, Huntingdon. The money will be used to buy equipment for the hospital and was raised through a Jog Aid fun run and various other base activities. A large part of the money came from the Alconbury Spartans football team' (*The Hunts Post*, 18 December 1986, p.12). Moreover, it seems that it was not only the Americans who were such sport fanatics. The popularity of these American charity sport events seemed to be on the increase as the 'News of the razzmatazz and spectacle of a charity American football match in Ipswich has

really taken Suffolk by storm. [...] It might turn out the biggest charity event Ipswich has ever had although the sell-out was not near yet.’ And yet again, ‘for those people not familiar with the game a short introduction to the rules will be given before the start’ (*East Anglian Daily Times*, 25 March 1986, p.6). This sort of article shows that Anglo-American relations were still of great importance and that the stationing of the Americans can also be a positive experience. This is what Mr Baldry, a Conservative Party MP was arguing about with a Labour Party MP who was trying to use the Visiting Forces Act 1952 to blame the Americans for apparent wrongdoings. He asked whether it was ‘not disappointing that certain hon. Gentlemen were using the Visiting Forces Act as a snide way of attacking our American allies? As one who has a US air force base in his constituency, I remind my hon. Friend that most people believe that those service men are very good neighbours. We are grateful for the protection and assistance that they give our people’ (*Hansard*, 20 March 1986, Vol.94:402). At the House of Commons, this particular Conservative MP is speaking from personal experience to support the stationing of the Americans in the area.

4.4. Neither friend, nor enemy

This section discusses those images of the US presence, which do not fit in either the positive portrayals of 4.2 (‘national threat’, ‘local threat’) or the negative images of 4.3 (‘friend’, ‘socialiser’). These are the ‘excluded Other’, ‘the superior American’, ‘the popular Other and the British establishment’, and the ‘American buying power’. Most of the images were found in the *Cambridge News* and the *Bury Free Press*, as the following table shows:

Overview of sources:

Images	The excluded Other	The superior American	The popular Other	American buying power	Total
Sources					
C N	0	8	3	8	19
B F P	7	2	3	2	14
H P	1	3	0	0	4
S M	0	1	0	0	1

E A D T	0	1	0	0	1
Total	8	15	6	10	39

4.4.1. The excluded Other

The theme of the ‘excluded American’ is an example of the fact that despite all the efforts of maintaining a good relationship with the locals the American airmen were not always welcome to join in local affairs, even if it is sport. This seems to be explicit only in the context of the Suez crisis and it cannot be detected in the following periods under analysis.

Although sporting events were likely to be popular, sport seemed to evoke mixed perceptions. A public debate in the *Bury Free Press* focused on a local darts league to which the Americans would have liked to have joined, since the Anglo-American Relations Committee encouraged joint events and joining local clubs and organisations. Press reports suggested that the Americans could have easily been motivated. However, a local club refuses to enter the American team in the league as an article entitled *Brandon notes* reports:

Darts league shuts door to Americans. A resolution to allow the American NCO Club at Lakenheath to enter the Brandon Darts League was defeated by 13-8 votes [...] It was considered to help to increase Anglo-American friendship. But it was said that *it's a Brandon league so let's keep it for Brandon clubs* [Italic in original].

(*Bury Free Press*, 24 August 1956, p.2)

The title indicates the locality of the issue and does not mention any American related word. The last sentence uses source attribution through which a degree of distancing is achieved from the Brandon club (Wodak, 2008:42). On top of that, the use of italics even more increases the expressive value of words used in the text and indicates that the darts club is more powerful than the Americans in this case. No reference was found regarding the American perspective. Drawing on Fairclough, in the British media, the balance of perspectives is in favour of existing power-holders, which in this case is the local sports club (2001:43).

The controversy of the issue is indicated by the response received from readers expressing their opinion about the topic, which indicates the value of the news. The fact that the editorial staff selected the letters to be printed indicated how the paper wanted to represent the opinion of their readers (Richardson, 2007:151). One of the responses entitled *Open door to USA dartsmen!* says: ‘it seems strange how some part of East Anglia are (or seem to be) unfriendly towards the Americans. Brandon Darts League refused to let them enter [...]’ (*Bury Free Press*, 31 August 1956, p.4). The title’s mode is imperative with an exclamation mark at the end; that is a speech act, which means that the producer of the text is giving a direct order to the Brandon club (Fairclough, 2001:129). The general assumption is that sport is supposed to bring communities together and it was hard to understand for the readers why the local club refused to further Anglo-American relations and it was upsetting for them. The title also presupposes background knowledge and that the readers read the main article. Another response that is worth mentioning was printed in the same issue and page entitled *Helped at Fete*: ‘the Americans helped to make the annual Fete a success by supplying the music. Their attitude was not - It's for Brandon so let's keep it so. It really makes one think “come on Brandon, pitch that double top together and may the better team win. Good luck, NCOs Anglo Americans’ (ibid). It is believed that the letters pages are primarily argumentative and so they are designed to convince readers of the acceptability of a point of view, in this case to let the American dartsmen play (Richardson, 2007:149). The argument is that the Americans acted selflessly when help was needed in the local community and that their aim is clearly to improve community relations. It is also believed that the letters pages of tabloid newspapers are dominated by individuals drawing on their own experiences (ibid:153), in this case the Americans helped to make music successfully. The argumentation rhetoric is that readers are accusing the Brandon club for injustice of their actions. The lengthy debate indicates indeed how much the locals believed in the injustice of the Brandon club. It shows that local individuals were sympathetic towards the airmen, had a positive opinion of the Americans and they also understood why they were here.

The next response published a week later neutralized the debate about the apparent unfairness of the Brandon club, entitled *In praise of Americans*:

it was puzzling to read the letter re Brandon refused application of the American Services Club to enter the public houses darts league. Surely, the wrong impression is being formed in assuming that they are being kept out just because they are

Americans. If rules are decided upon and those same rules decide that the particular darts league shall be confined to pubs in Brandon they must abide by them. It's a pity a mountain has been made out of a mole hill

(ibid, 7 September 1956, p.5)

This evidence again suggests that the US presence was more complex and multifaceted than it may first appear. Although this issue created a heated public debate in the *Bury Free Press*, and only the *Bury Free Press*, it suggests that this was a localised issue purely expressing local opinions.

4.4.2. The superior American

The arrival of American personnel in large numbers seems to help the emergence of the image of the 'superior American' in the local press. The majority of the airmen now arrived on long-term duty and thus they were allowed to bring their families. As a result, the bases had to face a new type of problem that required serious logistics. They not only had to liaise with the not always welcoming local people in the vicinity but also they had to think about housing and schooling of these people. British infrastructure could not cope with a sudden boom of population. Consequently, another news debate focused on questions of cultural and financial superiority and inferiority, for which reports on traffic accidents caused by US military in the UK seem to serve as a very provocative platform. Particularly interesting is an article from the *Suffolk Chronicle* which at first summarises the problematic rise in road accidents:

Last year the casualties in road accidents in the UK were the worst they have ever been since 1934. The appalling figures have been analysed in the Ministry of Transport's booklet 'road accidents 1955'. The rise is in direct proportion to the increase in the number of vehicles on the road, and in the case of children with the increase in the number of child cyclists.

(31 August 1956, p.6)

The article is entitled *American answers to heath and congestion on the roads*. According to the title of the article it represents a summary of American perspectives and possibly analysing the figures of road accidents in Britain as published by the British Ministry of Transport. While the British had been blaming the Americans for the traffic accidents and the American authorities for not preparing their men properly for the life in the UK, the

Americans believed that the cause of all these problems was the backwardness of British infrastructure. It is because

there is extraordinarily little help given to the motorist driving in congested conditions in this country: lack of bypass routes, no regulations how to use zebra crossings, pedestrians carelessly crossing the roads. [...] The density of traffic in Britain is increasing much faster than the improvement of roads. Britain would do well to take another look at the means used to ensure the highest measure of safety possible in a country where there is one car to every three persons.[...]

(ibid)

Although the rest of the article details and praises the American driving system and regulations, at the same time it also criticises the British system:

At first sight it would appear that such great variety of regulations would be confusing and a great hindrance to the flow of traffic. In fact, the only objection raises against the introduction of differential limits in Britain (by the British Road Federation) is that it would cause confusion. But in many American cities these and even more complex changes have been successfully adopted. In Washington DC some roads become one-way during rush hours and revert to two-way traffic in between without difficulty. Clear sign-posting is the answer.

(ibid)

One might question who was right regarding the large number of road accidents: was it the British who argued that the American servicemen had not been enlightened about English driving or the Americans who say that they did get a proper briefing but the English roads are not modern enough for American drivers? Frost and Shea explain that the US is the country of the motor car and everything goes for the motorist such as motorways, freeways, tollways, driveways, parkways, good signposting, good service areas, hamburger joints or even drive-in massage parlours (1986:144). There is suggestive evidence why this article appeared in the Suffolk Chronicle. The paper is circulated in the vicinity of Ipswich which is near the USAF airbases of Woodbridge and Bentwaters. They are not the largest American airbases in the area, but airbases that are located in the Suffolk countryside near the coastline, the area which is characterised by narrow and bendy roads¹⁰. The reason that this issue is discussed in so much detail in this paper could be due to the geographical location of the airbases.

¹⁰ For further discussion of the effects of the USAF presence on the East Anglian countryside, see Cole et al 2010, ch.11

The strain on British infrastructure was felt at every level. Not only the increased number of American schoolchildren requiring placement in local schools caused problems but also the cultural differences. The British complained that the bad manners of the American children at school caused disruption, on the other hand the Americans found it difficult to fit in the local school system. The solution was to found American schools at the bases. In this way the Americans were able to prove that they were on the top regarding modern infrastructure and efficiency. Since the Americans were in Britain in peacetime, good community relations were a must. They did their best to avoid confrontation and reduce local hostilities. The *Hunts Post* reports about building a new American school for the children of USAF Alconbury because ‘We knew we were congesting the local schools which were overcrowded and that is why we decided to construct this beautiful school which means so much to us’ (25 October 1956, pg.7). This article uses the direct voice of the American base commander as to justify the American decision of building a new school just because he ‘had been concerned at the schooling problem which faced not only the American families but also the local community’ (ibid). The line of argument used indicates positive evaluation of the American decision and that the Americans care for the local community and do not want to impose unnecessary burden on it. The lead paragraph of the article states the value of the school: ‘New £65000 school for American children at Alconbury’ (ibid). The figure can be seen as used for rhetorical effect to emphasise the American financial power (Wodak, 2008). Writing about the same issue in September 1956, the article is about praising the American efficiency that this school was a record in high speed building due to excellent organisation and the ‘sheer hard work by the men on the site. The men on the site worked only a five-day week with no overtime. An American had the last word “that sure was progress” ’ (*The Hunts Post*, 6 September 1956, p.front).

The housing issue highlighted again other cultural differences and there were implications that the American housing was better than the British. When the Americans were forced to rent accommodation outside the bases they not only had to face high rents for low quality properties but also had to understand the Briton’s traditional desire for privacy and sense of enclosure as well as other local characteristics such as the intimacy of neighbourhood life or the group of houses and shops. On the contrary, in America they were used to huge distances between neighbourhoods, long and wide roads, open spaces, open-plan gardens and houses without boundaries like fences and doors (Pells, 1997:169). Mr Finlay, a Conservative MP suggested that the UK could take the US as an example on

how to build new towns and deal with overspill. Although there is obviously an economical point of view, the social aspects of the matter should not be ignored. 'It is said that everybody likes to live in a house with a garden, and I can quite understand that, but have we exhausted all efforts of our imagination? In America all sorts of things are done to make life amenable for families, and I do not think that we in this country have done as much as we could' (*Hansard*, 9 July 1956, Vol.556:88). He was clearly referring to the difference between the spacious and open-plan American gardens and the closely built and enclosed buildings in Britain.

The following example from 1973 also demonstrates the superiority of the Americans that they are full of good ideas and can come up with a solution to a variety of problems, entitled *US airmen win 'ideas' award*:

- 7 Lakenheath airmen have received about £400 for efficiency suggestions that would save the US air force \$6774 every year. Such as
- to improve detection of fuel transmitter problems on the F-4D aircraft
 - electrical testing of bomb racks.

(*Cambridge Daily*, 18 October 1973, pg.15)

Although the article does not give much detail about the competition, the currency of the prize money suggests that British airmen were also involved but did not win. In 1980 a similar article was published in the *Bury Free Press* entitled *Awards for US airbase*: 'Mildenhall air base has achieved an exceptional number of awards in the annual competition for outstanding airforce work in Europe' (28 March 1980, pg.21). Here, adjectives with positive polarity used to emphasise the importance of the achievement, although only on page 21. Jianwei Wang and Zhimin Lin's article shows interesting similarities with Chinese perceptions regarding the US. It was also a country that had also some sort of political interest in achieving a degree of US support at the time of the Soviet threat. By the late 1970s China's perceptions had changed and so the US was seen as a valuable source of capital, technology, and managerial expertise for China's modernization (1992:902). At the same time, prevailing images of the US in the Soviet Union resembled the 'enemy stereotype, such as aggressiveness and its tendency to use force. However, they did not disparage American capabilities (Herrmann, 1985:691).

4.4.3. The popular Other and the British establishment

Popular music appeared to be another controversial topic that evoked mixed emotions among the locals. Although the US employed all available tools of public and cultural diplomacy to influence the heart and minds of Europeans it was its popular culture that has swept through the continent with the most success, first by winning over the young and then by gradually those who initially resisted in order to protect traditional high culture. Stephan, who investigates the effects of American popular culture in Britain, says that traditional high culture in Britain was state-sponsored and linked to class, education and elite groups while, on the contrary, popular culture was powered by commercial interest and consumed by the broad public (2006:14). Analysis of newspaper articles and their frequency suggests that the topic was a controversial one and shows that the nation was indeed divided about American popular culture, such as music. When new waves of American music, such as rock 'n' roll, arrived from the 1950s, the middle and upper classes believed that the nation's morals were in danger (Colls, 2002:189). Therefore, it is not surprising that the servicemen stationed in the area were perceived as the personification of the American way of life, thus endangering the morals of the locals. On the other hand, for those who loved American music and movies, and were open to new experience, the age of this mass culture was a delight. Indeed, both Cunliffe (1986:25) and Reynolds (1995:438), just to mention two, agree that American music was not everyone's favourite and the following newspaper article entitled *Rock 'n' Roll* is a good summary of the reasons against it:

Not coming here. The Cambridge City Licensing Magistrates have asked Associated British Cinema not to show the controversial American musical film 'Rock Around the Clock' and A.B.C. have decided to 'respect the Magistrates wishes'. (Magistrates were not given a private viewing.) The film features a new style of dancing known as 'Rock 'n' Roll. It is a rhythm similar to some of the African native 'beats' and is alleged to have a startling effect on young people who like 'hot music'. In London and elsewhere dancing youth have caused trouble in the streets, and assaults have been made on the police.

(*Cambridge Daily*, 9 October 1956, p.9)

The title is in big bold font, much bigger than the rest on the page so it clearly stands out. The first sentence is a simple, short declaration of the fact that Rock 'n' Roll is not welcomed in the area. Since the word 'American' is not mentioned in the title or even the first sentence, it assumes a background knowledge about it. It has to be noted that the Cambridge constituency was held by representatives of the Conservative Party and their

policy is clearly mirrored in the article. Although the Conservatives were pro-American, they did not favour American popular culture. They believed that American popular culture replaced quality by quantity and thus led to a lowering of standards, threatened decency and, especially rock music and public dancing undermined the morals of the youths (Stephan, 2006:14). This article also demonstrates Robert Colls's observation that blaming the Americans as a bad influence was common in the 1950s (2002:190). Both the British left and right were fond of contrasting English common sense which usually said to derive from a solid, practical, and symmetrical class structure, with American neurosis, criminality and demoralization (ibid).

Apparently, the BBC had also kept American pop music and body jigging off the air as long as it could (ibid). The initial BBC policy, laid down in 1924 by the first director-general John Reith was that '... we are setting out to give the public what we think they need, and not what they want, but few know what they want, and very few what they need' (in Stephan, 2006:37). This principle was topped by the lobbying of the British musicians' unions, the objections against rock 'n' roll, a black influenced musical form (ibid). Also, there were concerns about the destabilizing effect of American popular culture in a country where rationing was still on. Newspaper articles studied confirm this view, as the above article summarizes the concerns. Bad behaviour of young people was also seen as a negative effect of American music. For example, they went completely wild and tore out cinema seats and danced in the aisles while watching the movie mentioned in the above article in London. However, according to Hebdige, working class youth embraced American culture because their own culture hardly regarded them (in Wilford, 2006:32). Wilford argues that because this riotous youth behaviour coincided in time with the Suez debacle which highlighted Britain's declining imperial power, it made it appear somehow more menacing than it actually was (ibid). It is not surprising that, since the US in general represented power and liberty, the youth felt empowered and liberated by American music at the time when anti-American sentiments were high.

Hennessy proves that it was this young generation, who was blamed for its misbehaviour by those who believed that American popular music and other cultural influences were to blame for endangering British morality and taste that had become a very dominant factor of economic growth and product innovation (Hennessy, 2006:492). Having Analysed cinema takings, Hennessy concludes that those misbehaving youth aged

between 15-24, who were heavily criticised by Hoggart for wasting their time on listening to American music in milk bars which is a 'peculiar thin and pallid form of dissipation, a sort of spiritual dry-rot amid the odour of boiled milk' (1957:204), actually spent £1.5 billion a year on Elvis Presley films (Hennessy, 2006:492). These and other popular Hollywood movies that seemed to be blockbusters and doing miracles for the British economy were felt as contamination and nothing more than 'a Californian tide of glamour sex and violence washing over Britain' (ibid). As such, implying once again that the stereotype of being 'over-sexed' could still be applicable. It seems that newspaper articles do not delve into great details, they just pick what seem to be newsworthy thus contributing to the misperceptions of Americans.

It was not surprising after all that the idea of screening the above mentioned American movie stirred mixed emotions as it meant trouble for some and joy for others. This article is an example of perceptions and presuppositions. It shows how local officials take something granted that happens in the capital and how they suppose that whatever happened there as a result of showing the movie would happen locally as well. What is more, this sort of local trouble coincided in time with significant trouble outside, thus enforcing the initial anti-American sentiment. However, while another article shows a picture of long queues to see another American film *Rock 'n' Roll*, the general opinion is only 'just another musical, not quite so good as some' (*Bury Free Press*, 5 October 1956, p.9). This opinion confirms the fact that because something is American it does not automatically mean that it is good or bad.

4.4.4. American buying power

The 'over-paid' American is again an image that evoked mixed emotions. It is undeniable that during the Cold War, the US was the acme of modernity and so there was a stark contrast at all levels between the two societies. Brands discusses the apparent irresistibility of American culture, the spread of American styles of dress, TV shows and movies, eating and drinking American foods and beverages (2001:219). Reynolds examines this effect in regards with the USAF bases (1995:437). The impression of American wealth was preeminent, demonstrated through the gifts given to British households by the servicemen or the way they spoiled their British girlfriends. Also, the black market was just the right place to find those army 'surplus' (ibid). The fetes and open days or similar events organised at the US bases let the British public come into contact

with the technological sophistication of a mechanised army. The products that were available from the black market or from the army shops helped the public to savour the American way of life and promote consumerism. The endless production of goods and labour saving devices were also encouraged by advertising (ibid:437).

Most of the advertisements in the local press were praising American lingerie, tyres and more interestingly, ex-USAF clothing. Among the examined periods advertisements of American goods were only found in 1956. It was because, as Pells reasons, during this period America dominated the economy of Britain (1997:188). By the 1960s Britain became the most important destination outside Canada for American exports (ibid:190), which could also be linked to the Conservative government's interest in the US presence. By the 1970s, the US economy stagnated and was losing its aura of superiority due to the oil crisis, while the standard of living in Britain was rising to the level America's alone had once enjoyed (Pells, 1997:314). Advertising agencies believed, not without justification, that the most effective way to sell American products abroad was to sell 'America' itself. Marketing companies set out to persuade the foreign purchaser that he or she was buying not just an American-made product but a piece of America's opulence, its streamlined efficiency, its power, its modernity, thus supporting Reynolds' above assumptions (Reynolds, 1995:437). Sales advertisements, especially with pictures, could have been both irresistibly tempting and shockingly provocative to the traditional eye: 'It's here! Playtex living bra. It's the bra that launched the American look. Oh, what a wonderful feeling! Oh, what a beautiful look!' (*Cambridge Daily*, 12 October 1956, p.7) (Appendix 4). Or, 'Give yourself an American look at Pretty's of Bury St E. Give yourself the Playtex living bra. For the lifted, moulded, oh-so-youthful American look you must wear the Playtex Living bra. Give yourself the Playtex living girdle for the smooth, slender hip line of the American look you must wear the Playtex Living Girdle' (*Bury Free Press*, 26 October 1956, p.3). A special characteristic of advertising discourse, as Fairclough refers to it, is synthetic personalization, which is treating the audience as an individual (2001:52). It is evidenced in textual features such as direct address of audience members with *you* and imperative sentences. The benefits of the product are described in short, concise sentences. There are both detailed verbal and visual elements in the text that evoke a modern lifestyle, which in this case is associated with America. The positioning of the advertisement is also interesting as it is placed next to an article that refers to the Second World War. According to Fairclough, advertising is an ideological process because it leads people to pursue a new

lifestyle which they might not otherwise meet (ibid:170). The American look was not specified only to the human body. It was referred to another American obsession, the motor car: 'Why modern people ... Modern cars demand US Royal Tyres. Internationally famous' (*Cambridge Daily*, 15 October 1956, p.4). Given the austerity of British life in the 1950s, such adverts help to create an image of the US as a paradise of consumer splendour with well dressed people and shiny cars on the roads (Pells, 1997:164). The suggestion of abundance, especially of consumer goods such as bras and tyres, contradict with the shortages and rationing of goods in Britain, but they stress the notion of the superior US spending power.

As Fairclough (1995a, 2001) and David & Burhanudeen (2006) indicate, advertisements can persuade and influence behaviour. By creating 'dream' worlds, these advertisements have ideological implications (Negrine, 1994:68). Negrine argues that advertising 'mystifies the real world and deprives us of any understanding of it; we become part of the symbolism of the ad world; not real people but identified in terms of what we consume' (ibid). Indeed, the advertisements create economic demand while conveying images of a strong America at the same time. These are representations of an America where people buy certain cars and tyres, wear certain clothes and, ultimately, set new (modern) standards of taste, beauty or behaviour which contradict with the traditional British lifestyle. While this can lead to positive or negative images of the US presence, a conservative view would certainly be that the spread of mass consumerism results in a loss of standards and threatens decency by its sexual implications, like the adverts mentioned above. 'Give yourself an American look' invites mass consumerism and 'lifted, moulded, oh-so- youthful American look' has sexual implications. Stephan underpins this American paradise of consumer splendour by describing the experiences of some of those Britons who participated in exchange programmes in the 1950s (2006:24-25). Generally speaking, these exchangeers' experiences appeared to have been positive. They were overwhelmed by what they encountered in America, such as a kitchen waste-disposal unit into which a cooked chicken was gratuitously fed for demonstration by a host. This experience was described as follows 'I stared at the gurgling hole as it slowly ate the entire chicken and flushed it away; and then I knew I had seen America, and it worked' (ibid:25). American wealth was often emphasised on the front page of local papers like 'Big dollar orders for cars handed in at Motor Show. \$3,000,000 for 1000 X MGA's Austin Healey 100 & 470 X new MGA coupes' (*Cambridge Daily*, 18 October 1956, p.front). However, on the

contrary, Pells argues that the description of the Americans were not accurate. They were not so open, mobile or rich a society as the visiting Europeans assumed. Apparently, what emerged from their experiences was a country far gloomier and more disturbing than these travellers originally anticipated (Pells, 1997:172).

Material wealth also fostered cultural values. According to Reynolds, British evaluation of American life varied sharply by age and class (1995:437). He believes that the younger, less educated and working-class Britons were more likely to praise America's material and technological advantages while the older Britons and those with more education tended to be censorious of American materialism (ibid). The 1950s polls showed that blue-collar workers, farmers and operators of small businesses had a more favourable impression of the US than did people in government or the professions (Pells, 1997:160). Ordinary people thought of America as a land of high wages and upward mobility, a country where the majority lived well. They favoured consumerism because they too yearned to buy cars, TVs or modern kitchen appliances (ibid). Stephan agrees it was the young people who were first to visit rock concerts, wear jeans or patronize fast food chains. He adds that these young people regarded these activities not as a move to Americanise their societies but as liberation from the rules and customs they grew up with, fulfilling their dreams of being free from the confining limits set by their own culture on dreams of individual freedom (2006:14). When Campbell argues that what America seems to export is poisonous 'ism' rather than positive values, such as exploitative mercantile and multi-national capitalism as well as militarisation around the world (1984:24), he certainly reflects more the perspective of older or strictly conservative people. According to Stephan, the conservative view is that quality is replaced by quantity and people are deluded by images of wealth and pleasure that have little to do with real life in the US (206:14).

According to the *Hansard* Reports, the imports of American cars had been a recurring topic in Parliament as well as regulated by law. Mr P Thorneycroft, President of the Board of Trade, specified on more than one occasion that imports were restricted to 650 cars a year, a quota established in 1954. When questioned how it was possible to see an increasing number of US built motor cars in the UK during the period of balance of payments problem and recession in the British motor car industry, he replied that many of the American cars seen in the UK belonged to US servicemen, businessmen, tourists and

diplomats (*Hansard*, 17 May 1956, Vol.552:181). He also made it clear that banning the import of such vehicles from the US would not, ultimately, be an advantage for the UK due to its exports of about 20,000 cars a year to the US. The figures are as follows:

UK imports of new cars from the US

Year	number	value £
1951	94	84,840
1952	102	101,045
1953	128	108,821
1954	212	189,498
1955	528	502,477
1956 Jan/May	180	180,561

These figures (*ibid*) indicate a gradual rise in the number of cars but still not reaching the annual quota of 650 a year. Although it shows that the spending power in the UK was on the rise but it cannot explicitly be said that it was partly due to the British public as the number of American airmen stationed in the UK increased as well.

4.5. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to assess how the local media portrayed the US presence. The findings in the local media are compared with findings in the national press and House of Commons debates. However, the number of related articles in the national newspapers examined resulted in a very limited number of common topics. Parliamentary debates varied from brief comments among MPs to extensive and lengthy debates involving the whole House as well as statements by prime ministers. Amongst the five periods discussed in this chapter, it was the 1956 period that produced the most articles in the press and the airstrike against Libya that incurred the longest Parliamentary debate involving the whole House of Commons. The large number of images during the Suez crisis can be explained by the fact that the US presence was still a novelty in the post world war period and it required explanations at every level. If Jackson is right in stating that the average British citizen knew next to nothing about these American personnel and their families who inhabit the extensive bases (1986:154), then the extent of the press coverage of the Americans in the media in 1956 is not surprising at all. The lengthy parliamentary debate at the time of the Libya conflict was initiated by the fact that the British Prime Minister, despite significant opposition, allowed the US to fly its planes to Libya from airbases in the UK. This action indicates a strong pro-American attitude.

What is most striking, however, is that the number of articles discussing the US presence in the local press is surprisingly uneven at different periods. It ranges from an abundance of general and specialized issues in 1956, to relatively sparse treatments of other periods. The collection of data from the primary sources identified a wide range of topics, through which one can obtain a clearer and more nuanced idea how the Americans were viewed and perceived during the period of this study. There are images that are recurring from time to time, such as the image of the dangerous American that is present at each period examined in the local papers and can also be found in national papers. This image appears to be triggered through outside events, such as an international crisis, when the US's actions outside Britain threaten the country's security and people realise just how vulnerable their country is. Or, it could be from within the UK when the Americans posed a threat to the local communities, for example through demoralizing or drink-driving, which were widely discussed especially in 1956.

On the other hand, there are numerous positive portrayals of the US presence in all papers and all periods under examination, and, it is clear that most articles ultimately aim to contribute to the improvement of community relations between the locals and the US airmen as well as to facilitate integration of the US military into local communities. The image of the dangerous driver who - according to most journalists - should receive support and, in particular, more cross-cultural training (e.g. regarding left-hand driving) in order to reduce the threat and facilitate his integration in the community, is a clear example for this direction. This is in line with usually very strong Conservative governmental support for the US presence in the UK throughout all periods under scrutiny, and it links up to the fact that the constituencies where the local papers were issued were mainly Conservative in all those periods of crisis. After all, during the periods examined, the UK was governed by Conservatives, local businesses seemed to benefit from the US presence and the Anglo-American Relations Committee seemed to be acting as a mediator between all parties.

In this context, most articles help to improve the stereotypical image of the Americans as 'over-paid, over-sexed and over-here', for example by elaborating on US donations or fundraising activities. However, despite all media efforts to improve US-UK relations, individual articles suggest that ordinary local British perceptions of the Americans varied by generation and issues concerned. In particular, there appears to be a generational divide, with young people generally being attracted more by the 'modern'

American lifestyle, while older generation had memories of previous experience with GIs which were not always that positive.

Some of the negative images seem to result from the sudden increase in numbers of the airmen stationed in the area which caused sometimes severe challenges for the housing market (shortage of house, price increase) and traffic (more road congestion, accidents). In particular, the readers' often very heated debates of such topics in letters to the editors reveal constant complaints which highlight that many locals had to suffer a lot as a result of the strong US presence and the failure of UK authorities to efficiently address and solve the socio-economic problems created by mass stationing of US military on the British countryside. However, with regard to the articles, the number of positive images in 1956 clearly outnumbers the negative images, which confirms the pro-American political agenda led by a Conservative government and constituencies especially in the period, and correlates with the overall more conservative ownership of the local press.

In 1962 the number of images of the Americans found in the media is significantly less than during the previous period. Some of the papers, such as *The Hunts Post*, the *Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury* and the *East Anglian Daily Times* did not mention any American related issues. The majority of articles from this period were found in the *Cambridge News*. Interestingly, the *Bury Free Press* hardly even mentions any American related issues despite the fact that it is issued near Lakenheath, one of the largest American military bases in the UK, although national papers such as *The Times* are clearly concerned with the situation in Cuba and there are discussions of both the pros and cons of the American presence. Press reports seem to propagate only concerns with dangers stemming from the American presence that increases the vulnerability of the region. Thus, the continuing images are the dangerous American for being 'over-here' and the careless American for their drink driving offences. None of the positive images found during the previous period are present here perhaps because the American presence was not a novelty anymore and that the nuclear alert DEFCON 3 status implied that the American presence could be dangerous. Anglo-American relations had seen a general decline in the 1960s due to the international situation. However, the Cuban crisis and the presence of the American bases once again made the population in East Anglia realise the implications of their existence, and even among Labour MPs there were supporters of the stationing of the American forces in the area.

In 1973 the debates and articles in the press once again are related to an international crisis, how the DEFCON 3 status alert affected the local population and how the relocation of forces in France put pressure once again on the local infrastructure, especially the housing market. Parliamentary debates kept focusing on the future of the bases but the government's policy was still to attach high importance to the relationship with the US. There were no articles found in the *Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury* and the *East Anglian Daily Times* at all. The images discussed are the dangerous and the nuisance American, which are all recurring images from previous periods. The dominating image is the 'nuisance American', which relates to housing and noise issues. Although these images express grievances, the underlying message is that the American presence is beneficial for local businesses, hence indicating Conservative perspectives. As in 1962, the American presence was not new, the nuclear alert DEFCON 3 presented danger and the extra activities related to this situation caused disturbance.

In the 1979-80 period there are considerably more relevant articles in the news media than in the previous period. Among the local newspapers, the *Bury Free Press* bursts with articles concerning the American presence. The possible reason for this was the speculation that the new missiles would be sited at the nearby Lakenheath American base. The most frequently recurring image is the national threat in relation to the debate between the deployment of cruise missiles and disarmament. Although the majority of articles are nuclear related, an image from the 1956 period reappears, though very sparingly, which is concerned with the relationship between the local population and the American forces.

In 1986 the themes discussed in the media are far more varied than during the last three periods but there is a focus on two topics: Anglo-American relations and nuclear missiles. The emphasis during this period is on the launching of airstrikes against Libya from British bases and how much this attack would endanger security in Britain especially in East Anglia and how much need there is for the stationing of the Americans in Britain in general. These issues were not only affecting the local population but the rest of the country as well. One of the issues that are related to this international event and explicitly affect the local population is aircraft noise resulting from the increased number of American training sessions. The other issue is the financial impact of the bases on the local communities. The departure of the American bases would mean loss of jobs for the locals, loss of income from the local expenditure of the airmen and the loss of money raised

through various charity events. It is interesting to note that some of the positive images of the Americans that were typical of the first period of the study recur during this last period. Press reports suggest that it is because there seemed a real danger of the bases closing, and therefore of loss of economic benefits, such as employment, the American buying power or business opportunities. Under these circumstances it can be assumed that the media played again an important role in channelling not only negative impressions of the Americans, but highlighting their advantages for the local population as well. Thus, this period similarly to 1956, channel a mixture of images of the Americans while the periods in between are mainly negative images.

Overall, the negative images dominate in each period apart from 1956. Thus, the majority of images are negative but if we add the neutral images to the positive images then the balance is very close. However, the importance lies not in the number of positive and negative images, but in what sort of message they are conveying, whether it is enhanced integration or rejection and exclusion. The dominance of negative images can also be explained by the fact that bad news has higher news values than good news so they sell better (Wodak, 2008:33). For the detailed breakdown please see the table of 'Evaluation of images'.

Conclusion

This study has explored how the British media portrayed the American presence at times of crisis, how it dealt with presuppositions, perceptions and misperception of events over four decades of the Cold War, and in how far it pursued a pro-American agenda that was very much in line with the Conservative governments and constituencies in all periods under scrutiny.

Through an examination of the primary sources, we can conclude that local views in East Anglia were as varied as the general national view, there was ambivalence in all periods, and pro- as well as anti-American perspectives could be found at both sides of the political spectrum. However, although the local papers examined tend to categorise themselves as independent papers, there is evidence that their texts seem to be influenced by local economic as well as political interests which ultimately tend to guide the reader to accept the American presence in the UK. This is very much in line with Conservative governmental policy at national level, the Conservative policies in most of the constituencies where the local papers were produced and disseminated, and it also correlates with the wealthy, traditional-conservative ownership of those papers. During the Suez Crisis this political agenda was particularly visible in so far as many articles focused very explicitly on the destabilisation of negative perceptions ‘inherited’ from the previous war period and tried to explain why it was important and advantageous to have the Americans back in Britain in such high numbers. Similarly, during the last period under scrutiny, the Libya conflict, there was very strong support for the US presence. While at national level there were talks about the Americans leaving the country, local newspapers tried to highlight why they should stay and what the socio-political and, particularly, economic advantages are likely to be. Although readers could express their opinions directly in the form of letters to the editors, and these often revealed a very critical attitude regarding the US presence, most articles tended to be in line with pro-American Conservative positions. While locals expressed major concern about dangerous US drivers

and shortages in the housing market due to strong US buyers, most articles generally supported an enhanced integration policy, partially as answer to some of the concerns.

Despite all national and local threats discussed, the overall local print media message appears to be that the American presence provided extra security against the USSR and that Britain was a fair partner in terms of decision making. Certainly, there were many readers and also some journalists who were adamant that the American presence enhanced the possibility that the Soviet Union would launch a strike against the air bases in Britain and thus it meant more danger to the country than security. Also, these people felt that Britain was only a puppet in the Anglo-American 'special relationship'. In short, the fundamental ambiguity that marked not only the debates in the House of Commons but also in the readers' letters to editors in periods of major national crisis, did leave a clear mark in the local papers. Alan Clark, a new minister in Mrs Thatcher's government wrote in 1983 that 'opinion has to be divided between those who believe that the influence of the US is benign and protective; and those (among whom I count myself) who believe that, like the power of the 18th century monarchy, it has increased, is increasing, and ought to be demolished (Campbell, 1984:22). This highlights how far the debate also blurs political boundaries and, in particular, it acts as a reminder that Conservative policies that favoured the US presence were not necessarily shared by all Conservative MPs. However, overall, local newspapers articles portrayed the US presence either in a positive light or used the negative image discussed, such as the dangerous driver, in order to request more integration efforts. In both cases media images remain in line with Conservative governmental policies.

The comparison of topics discussed in the local press with topics discussed in the national press shows that the national press tends to be more concerned with international governmental policies while the local press focuses more on the impact of the US presence on rural communities and the individual. What seems important at local level is often not even mentioned in the national press. On the other hand there are similarities in coverage in both the national and the local press, albeit with different emphasis. For example, in 1956, articles at national and local level tend to focus on the co-operation between locals and the US when Air Force Fire crews join with British firemen to solve a problem or avoid a disaster, which is yet another example of British media efforts to highlight positive images of the intercultural relationship.

While in 1956 articles argued why it was good to have the Americans in the region, in 1986 most articles tried to explain why the US military should stay. Clearly, there were major financial concerns at local level, which involved most owners of the local press personally and were most likely to have an impact on the local newspapers business too. In this context, it does not necessarily come as a surprise that the newspaper editors selected such financial concerns as particularly newsworthy.

Overall, this study demonstrates what an important role the local media in the East of England has played in channelling information to and through the readers. However, in order to achieve a more in-depth view of media influence in Cold War periods, it would be beneficial to pursue projects with focus on the reflection of the Soviet presence in Eastern European newspapers. The portrayal of the Red Army in the Hungarian media could provide a particularly interesting framework to amend the present study as Hungarian papers enjoyed relative independence in the Eastern bloc.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Newspapers

Bury Free Press
Cambridge Independent News
Cambridge News
East Anglian Daily Times
Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury
The Guardian
The Hunts Post
The Times

Secondary sources

Books

Agnew, J-C. and Rosenzweig, R. eds., 2002. *A Companion to post-1945 America*. Malden: Blackwell.

Ball, G., 1968. *The discipline of power*. London: Bodley Head.

Baylis, J., ed., 1997. *Anglo-American relations since 1939. The enduring alliance*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Barker, C. and Galasinski, D. eds., 2001. *Cultural studies and discourse analysis*. London: Sage.

Bell, A. 1991. *Language of the news media*. London: Blackwell.

Bell, A. and Garrett, P. eds., 1998. *Approaches to media discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bowyer, M.J.F., 1979. *Action stations. Wartime military airfields of East Anglia 1939-1945*. Cambridge: Patrick Stephens.

Brands, H.W., 2001. *The strange death of American liberalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Burk, K., 2000. War and Anglo-American financial relations in the twentieth century. In: F. M. Leventhal ed., 2000. *Anglo-American attitudes*. Aldershot: Ashgate. Ch.13.

Campbell, D., 1983. *War plan UK: The secret truth about Britain's civil defence*. UK: Paladin.

- Campbell, D., 1984. *The unsinkable aircraft carrier. American military power in Britain*. London: Michael Joseph.
- Catley, R. and Mosler, D., 2007. *The American challenge*. UK: Ashgate.
- Charlton, T.L., Myers L.E. and Sharpless, R. eds., 2006. *Handbook of oral history*. Oxford: AltaMira Press.
- Cole, T., Coates, P. and Pearson, C. eds., 2010. *Militarized landscapes: From Gettysburg to Salisbury Plain*. London: Continuum.
- Colls, R., 2002. *Identity of England*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cull, N.J., 2008. *The Cold War and the United States information agency. American propaganda and public diplomacy, 1945-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cunliffe, M., 1986. The anatomy of anti-Americanism. In: Kroes and Van Rossem eds. 1986. *Anti-Americanism in Europe*. Amsterdam: Free University Press.
- David, M. and Bruhanudeen, H., eds., 2006. *The power of language and the media*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang GMBH.
- Deer, P., 2004. The dogs of war. In: A. & K. Ross 2004. *Anti-Americanism*. New York: New York University Press. Ch.9.
- Dobson, A.P., 1995. *Anglo-American relations in the twentieth century*. London: Routledge.
- Duke, S., 1987. *U.S. defence bases in the United Kingdom: a matter for joint decision?* Oxford: Macmillan.
- Dumbrell, J., 2001. *A special relationship. Anglo-American relations in the Cold War and after*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Fairclough, N., 1995a. *Media discourse*. London: E. Arnold.
- Fairclough, N., 1995b. *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N., 2001. *Language and power*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.
- Fairclough, N., 2003. *Analysing discourse. Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., 2010. *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Franklin, B. and Murphy, D., 1991. *What news? The market, politics and the local press*. London: Routledge.

- Franklin, B., 1998. *Making the local news*. London: Routledge.
- Fraser, T.G. and Murray, D., 2002. *America and the world since 1945*. Palgrave: Macmillan.
- Frost, D. and Shea, M., 1986. *The mid-Atlantic companion*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Gaddis, J.L., 1997. *We know now: Rethinking Cold War history*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gillespie, M. and Toynbee, J., eds., 2006. *Analysing media texts*. Maidenhead: OUP.
- Giorgi, L., 1995. *The post-socialist media: What powers the West?* Aldershot: Avebury.
- Hahn, P.L., 2000. Discord or accommodation? Britain and the United States in world affairs, 1945-92. In: F. M. Leventhal ed., 2000. *Anglo-American attitudes*. Aldershot: Ashgate. Ch.15.
- Healey, D., 1990. *When shrimps learn to whistle: Signposts for the nineties*. London.
- Hennessy, P., 2006. *Having it so good. Britain in the fifties*. London: Penguin Books.
- Heppel, T. And Seawright, D. eds., 2012. *Cameron and the conservatives: the transition to coalition government*. Basingstoke: Houndmills.
- Hixson, W.L., 1997. *Parting the curtain. Propaganda, culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Hoggart, R., 1957. *The uses of literacy*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Hudson, K., 2005. *CND – Now more than ever*. London: Vision.
- Jackson, I., 1971. *The provincial press and the community*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jackson, R., 1986. *Strike force. The USAF in Britain since 1948*. London: Robson Books.
- Jones, P., 1997. *America and the British Labour Party. The 'special relationship' at work*. London: Tauris.
- Lamb, R., 1995. *The MacMillan years 1957-1963. The Emerging Truth*. London: John Murray.
- Larres, K. and Lane, A., ed., 2001. *The Cold War*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Louis, W.R. and Owen, R., eds., 1989. *Suez 1956: The crisis and its consequences*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Mosler, D. and Catley, B., 2000. *Global America. Imposing liberalism on a recalcitrant world*. Westport: Praeger.

- Moyer, J. 1999. Step by step guide to oral history. [online] Available at: <http://chnm.gmu.edu/digitalhistory/links/pdf/chapter6/6.3.pdf>
- Negrine, R., 1994. *Politics and the mass media in Britain*. London: Routledge.
- Official Report. Parliamentary Debates. (*Hansard*), Great Britain: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Pells, R., 1997. *Not like us. How Europeans have loved, hated, and transformed American culture since World War II*. New York: Basic Books.
- Reynolds, D., 1995. *Rich relations: The US occupations of Britain 1942-1945*. London: Phoenix Press.
- Richardson, J.E., 2007. *Analysing newspapers. An approach from critical discourse analysis*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seymour-Ure, C., 1996. *The British press and broadcasting since 1945*. UK: Blackwell.
- Spannon, N., 2006. *Eastern front: the USAF, RAF and East Anglia, 1946-1964*. PhD. Anglia Ruskin University.
- Steijger, C., 1991. *The History of the USAFE*. England: AirLife.
- Stephan, A., 2006. *The Americanization of Europe. Culture, diplomacy, and anti-Americanism after 1945*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- The Canadian contribution to United Nations peacekeeping, 2001. [online] Available at: http://www.unac.org/peacecp/pkbooklet_e.pdf [Accessed 26 May 2011].
- The UK Press Directory. Newspapers. Saffron Walden: UK Media Directories.
- Tombs, R. and I., 2007. *That sweet enemy. The French and the British from Sun King to the present*. London: Pimlico.
- Tunstall, J., 1983. *The media in Britain*. London: Constable.
- Veljanovski, C.G., 1990. *Media in Britain today: the facts, the figures*. London: News International.
- Weight, R., 2002. *Patriots. National identity in Britain 1940-2000*. London: Macmillan.
- Wilford, H., 2006. Britain: in between. In: A. Stephan 2006. *The Americanization of Europe: culture, diplomacy, and anti-Americanism after 1945*. New York: Berghahn Books. Ch.2.
- Williams, K., 2010. *Get me a murder a day! A history of media and communication in Britain*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Willings Press Guide. London.

Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. eds., 2001. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

Wodak, R. and Krzyzanowski, M. eds., 2008. *Qualitative discourse analysis in the social sciences*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Young, J.W., 1997. *Britain and the world in the twentieth century*. London: Arnold.

Journals

Colman, J. 2007. *The 1950 'Ambassador's Agreement' on USAF bases in the UK and British fears of US atomic unilateralism*. In: *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol.30, No.2, pp.285-307, April 2007.

Current Intelligence Weekly, 1956. [online] Available at: <http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/da/bl/nsa/weekly> [Accessed 26 May 2011].

Franklin, B. and Richardson, J.E.R., 2002a. *Priming the parish pump: political marketing and news management in local political communication networks*. In *The Journal of Political Marketing* 1 (1), pp.117-147.

Franklin, B. and Richardson, J.E.R., 2002b. *A journalist's duty? Continuity and change in local newspapers' coverage of recent UK general elections*. In: *Journalism Studies* 3 (1) pp.35-52.

Garreth, W.R., 1995. *British weeklies fight for readers' loyalty in changing communities*. In: *Newspaper Research Journal* 16.2. (Spring 1995): 124.

Herrmann, R.K., 1985. *Analysing Soviet images of the United States: a psychological theory and empirical study*. In: *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 29. No.4. pp.665-697.

Johnson, S. 2002. *The impact of the American air bases during World War Two on the area of East Anglia*. In: *Saffron Walden Historical Journal*, No.3.

Reys, A., 2011. *Strategies of legitimization in political discourse: from words to action*. In: *Discourse and Society Journal*, 2011 22:781.

Richardson, J.E. and Franklin, B. 2003. *'Dear Editor': Race, readers' letters and the local press*. In: *Political Quarterly*, 74 (2) pp.184-92.

Richardson, J.E. and Franklin, B. 2004. *'Letters of intent': Election campaigning and orchestrated public debate in local newspapers' letters to the editor*. In: *Political communication*, 21 (4) pp.459-78.

Schroder, K.C. and Phillips, L. 2007. *Complexifying media power: a study of the interplay between media and audience discourses on politics*. In: *Media Culture Society*, 29:890.

Sudbury Museum Trust. *The Yanks in East Anglia – a friendly invasion*. Available at: <http://americans.sudburysuffolk.co.uk/the-yanks-in-east-anglia-a-friendly-invasion/>

Teo, P., 2000. *Racism in the news: A critical discourse analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers*. In: *Discourse and Society Journal*, Vol.11, Issue 1, pp.7-49.

Young, K., 2007. *No blank cheque: Anglo-American (mis)understandings and the use of the English airbases*. In: *The Journal of Military History*, Vol.71, No.4, October 2007, pp.1133-1167.

van Dijk, T.A. 2006. *Discourse and Manipulation*. In: *Discourse and Society Journal*, 2006 17:359.

Wang, J., and Lin, Z., 1992. *Chinese perceptions in the post-cold war era: Three images of the United States*. In: *Asian Survey*, Vol.32, No.10 (Oct., 1992), pp.902-917. University of California Press.

Website

<http://newcastle.academia.edu/JohnRichardson>

Appendices